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Research was conducted to determine the occupational orientations and aspirations of a sample of Mexican American high school sophomore students from schools in 2 selected Southwest Texas counties and 2 selected South Texas counties. Data were gathered in May, 1967, by means of group interviews in selected schools. Interviews were conducted by graduate students who read each stimulus question aloud as the respondents answered the question. Questionnaires were completed by 669 of the 765 sophomores enrolled in the selected schools at the time of the interview. The primary concern of the study was to provide descriptive information; therefore, no tests of statistical difference were employed. It was concluded that a large number of the Mexican American youth in the study desired high-level occupations, and a major policy implication was that these youth needed adequate preparation which they were not receiving to prepare them for the occupational goals they preferred. A related document is RC 000 984. (VM)

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OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH IN SELECTED TEXAS COUNTIES

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A Thesis

by

DAVID E. WRIGHT, JR.

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Submitted to the Graduate College of the
Texas A&M University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

August 1968

Major Subject: Sociology

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August 1968

Occupational Orientations of Mexican American Youth in Selected Texas Counties. (August 1968)

David E. Wright, Jr., B. S., Texas A&M University
Directed by: Dr. William P. Kuvlesky

Despite the length of the Mexican Americans' presence in this country, little research of a strictly empirical nature has been accumulated on them. This scarcity of empirical literature on Mexican Americans, while evident at the most general levels of observation, is especially apparent as the level of observation becomes specific. The general lack of recent empirical research on Mexican Americans initiated this thesis, which had the general objective of investigating the providing primarily descriptive information on the nature of occupational orientations as held by Mexican American youth. The investigation focused on occupational status projections, generational occupational mobility aspirations, and job values.

The analysis performed was facilitated by the use of a previously researched conceptual scheme which distinguishes between what is desired (aspiration) and what is expected (expectation) within a specific status area, e. g., education, occupation, and others. Other dimensions of the scheme include intensity of desire, certainty of expectation, and anticipatory deflection. The next section of analysis, generational occupational mobility aspirations, was concerned with the respondents' desires for occupations relative to the occupational positions of the respondents' families-of-orientation. The final section of analysis dealt with certain criteria selected from those which are theoretically involved in the occupational choice process.

The data were obtained from high school sophomores in selected Texas counties which met the following criteria: (1) a proportionately high rate of Mexican Americans; (2) a proportionately high rate of poverty; and, (3) predominantly rural populations. The data were gathered through the use of group-administered questionnaires; and, this thesis concerned itself with the responses of only the 596 Mexican Americans who participated.

From the findings presented, it was concluded that large proportions of the Mexican American youth desired high-level occupations. Furthermore, only slight differences existed between the levels of occupational aspirations of the males and females. Both sexes expressed a strong desire for their occupational goals. It was also concluded that the Mexican American youth had expectations which were, while generally high, somewhat lower than their aspirations. Again, only slight differences were observed between the expectations of males and females; and, the majority of the youth were not very certain of their expectations. Most youth were not deflected from their occupational goals, regardless of the particular goal category concerned.

In regards to generational occupational mobility aspirations, it was concluded that the vast majority of the Mexican American youth desired to be upwardly mobile; the youth tended to desire high-level occupations regardless of their own familial occupational origins. However, it was observed that the youth who desired jobs in the highest occupational category were primarily from the highest social origins.

From the section of analysis related to job values, the conclusion was made that the Mexican American youth placed greater importance on steady employment, chance to help others, and monetary reward then on the other values studied. It was also concluded that the job values selected for study failed to differentiate among persons with dissimilar occupational aspirations.

Finally, a number of implications were drawn. The major theoretical implication was that this thesis' findings supported Merton's proposition regarding universal value patterns irrespective of an individual's positions in various social structures. This thesis' findings must also serve as tentative generalizations concerning Mexican American youth's occupational orientations until research is extended to include other Mexican American youth and to also include comparative studies of various ethnic minorities. The major policy implication was that the youth needed adequate preparation, which they are not now receiving, to pursue their goals through the legitimate means to success.

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Writing this thesis would not have been possible without the guidance, assistance, and understanding of many people at both the undergraduate and graduate levels of study; it would be impossible for me to list all who have aided. However, certain persons among the many deserve special recognition at this time.

I want first to express my appreciation to the youth concerned in this thesis, to the high school personnel, and to the people in the counties selected for study.

I would also like to thank Dr. William P. Kuvlesky, teacher and chairman, for his help in my studies and in the preparation of this thesis. To Dr. R. L. Skrabanek and Dr. J. Rod Martin, who served as members of my committee, I also extend thanks for their patience and suggestions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT.. iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.. vi

LIST OF TABLES.. x

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION... 1

CHAPTER II. FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE....... 7

- Overview.. 7
- Occupational Status Projections............................. 9
  - Status object... 16
  - Status orientation...................................... 17
  - Aspiration.. 18
  - Expectation... 19
  - Anticipatory deflection................................. 21
  - Summary... 25
- Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations.............. 26
- Job Values.. 28
- Mexican American Literature................................. 33
- Research Objectives... 36

CHAPTER III. METHODS AND PROCEDURES............................. 38

- Source and Collection of Data............................... 38
  - Source of data.. 38
  - Collection of data...................................... 41
- Indicators and Measurements................................. 44
  - Ethnic membership....................................... 44
  - Occupational aspirations................................ 45
  - Occupational expectations............................... 47
  - Anticipatory deflection................................. 48
  - Generational occupational mobility aspirations.......... 49
  - Job values.. 50
  - Occupational classification scheme...................... 52
- Data Processing... 54

CHAPTER IV. ANALYSIS: OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS................ 56

- Occupational Status Projections............................. 56
  - Goal Levels... 56
  - Intensity of aspiration................................. 58
  - Anticipated levels...................................... 61
  - Certainty of expectations............................... 65
  - Anticipatory deflection................................. 65
  - Summary... 71

TABLE OF CONTENTS
(continued)

Page

Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations............ 73
    Nature and extent of mobility aspirations............ 74
    Occupational aspirations by occupational level of respondents' families-of-orientation............ 75
    Summary...................................... 83
Job Values...................................... 84
    Summary...................................... 95

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS............ 97

Summary and Conclusions.............................. 98
    Occupational status projections.................... 98
    Generational occupational mobility aspirations....... 99
    Job values.................................... 101
Implications.................................... 102
    Theory...................................... 102
    Research.................................... 113
    Policy...................................... 122

BIBLIOGRAPHY.................................... 129

APPENDIX A. DETAILED INFORMATION ON STUDY COUNTIES, HIGH SCHOOLS, AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS.............................. 135

The Study Counties.............................. 135
The High Schools.............................. 141
The Background of the Students.................... 143

APPENDIX B. EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT................. 152

VITA.................................... 155

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females..	59
2	Occupational Aspiration Levels of Mexican American Males and Females..	60
3	Intensity of Occupational Aspiration of Mexican American Males and Females..............................	60
4	Occupational Expectations of Mexican American Males and Females..	62
5	Occupational Expectation Levels of Mexican American Males and Females..	64
6	Certainty of Occupational Expectation of Mexican American Males and Females..............................	64
7	Nature and Degree of Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational Goals of Mexican American Males and Females..	68
8	A Comparison of Anticipatory Deflection by Sex and Occupational Goal................................	69
9	Nature and Degree of Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females...	76
10	Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations: A Cross-Classification of the Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females by Occupation of Respondents' Head-of-Household.................	80
11	Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations: A Cross-Classification of the Occupational Aspiration Levels of Mexican American Males and Females by Occupational Level of Respondents' Head-of-Household	82
12	Degrees of Importance of Selected Job Values of the Occupational Goals of Mexican American Males and Females...	86
13	Selected Job Features of the Occupational Goals of Mexican American Males and Females, Ranked by Mean Scores of Importance for Total Respondents.....	88

LIST OF TABLES
(continued)

Table		Page
14	Mean Scores of Importance for Selected Job Values by Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females........................	90
15	Rank Orderings of Selected Job Values by Mean Scores of Importance and by Occupational Aspirations for Mexican American Males and Females......	92
16	Rank Ordering of Occupational Aspirations by Mean Scores of Importance for Selected Job Values, for Mexican American Males and Females............	93
17	Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the South Texas Study Counties Compared with Texas and the United States........................	139
18	Selected Labor Force and Place of Residence Characteristics of Counties Included in the Study.	140
19	Annual Family Income of Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans, Sample Area, 1959..............	142
20	The Number of Sophomores Enrolled in Each School Compared with the Number Interviewed..............	144
21	Ethnic and Sex Distribution of Sophomore Respondents by High School..........................	144
22	Identity of Major Money Earner in Mexican American Male and Female Respondents' Households..	146
23	Occupation of Major Money Earner in Mexican American Male and Female Respondents' Households..	147
24	Education of Parents of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents..........................	148
25	Marital Status of Parents of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents..........................	149
26	Employment Status of Mother of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents......................	151

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the last few years, the people of the United States have shown an increased interest in the problems of certain groups of this country's population, groups to which the euphemism, "they do not share in the American way of life," is typically applied.[1] One such group which is just recently making its presence known is that group composed of people variously referred to as "Mexicans," "Mexican Americans," "Latins," "Latin Americans," "Spanish-speaking people," and a host of other names. This thesis will concern itself with this group of people, and hereafter, for purposes of this thesis, these people will be referred to as "Mexican Americans."[2] In general, the term "Mexican American" is used to refer to those citizens of the United States who are of

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The citations on the following pages follow the style of the American Sociological Review.

[1] Perhaps one of the most dramatic, but certainly not the only evidence of such interest is the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the ensuing multi-billion dollar "War on Poverty."

[2] The choice of a name for this group must be arbitrary. "Mexican American" has been chosen for reasons of simplicity and because this name seems to be preferred by members of this group. For evidence of this preference see Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, New York: Random House, 1966, pp. 7-8. Additional evidence of this preference is indicated in the name of the recently created committee to handle the problems of this group: "Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs."

Mexican descent; however, "Mexican American" has at times been used to refer to all who are of Spanish descent.[3]

In view of the renewed interest in the "poor" and the "socially disadvantaged," there have been a number of statistical abstracts and subjective descriptions portraying the plights of these people in general, and certain works which have focused specifically on Mexican Americans. From such works, certain findings about Mexican Americans have emerged, some of which are briefly reviewed below.

Mexican Americans constitute the nation's third largest ethnic group, but the Southwest's and Texas' second largest group.[4]

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

[4] This statement is based on materials published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. It must be noted that one shortcoming of the term "Mexican American" is that it has not been operationalized and the group to which it refers accurately enumerated. In an attempt to arrive at an estimate of this group, the Bureau of the Census has developed the census classification of "white persons of Spanish surname." This classification is currently the only means with which to obtain data on the general characteristics of the Mexican American population. The Bureau states that their classification is relatively adequate for this purpose and that its most serious defect is that it underestimates the actual size of the Mexican American group. In view of the fact that 83 percent of the white persons of Spanish surname in the Southwest are of Mexican descent, data gathered by the Bureau of the Census can be justifiably used to refer to Mexican Americans. For a discussion of the evolution of the Census classification, of the special problems encountered in enumerating this group, and for an evaluation of the classification, see *U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subjects Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname.* Final Report PC (2) - 1B. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963, pp. VI-XII.

Mexican Americans have traditionally occupied and continue today to occupy a relatively disadvantaged position in this society as compared with the majority group, Anglos.[5] As evidence of the Mexican Americans' position in this society, witness their current overrepresentation in the lower occupations, their high proportions of poverty, and their low levels of educational achievement.[6] These people, as is readily apparent, have been in this country much longer than have many other ethnic groups; indeed, they have been present much longer than have most other groups who have been acculturated, assimilated, and then begun to advance in socio-economic status.[7]

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[5] For more information on the situation of the Mexican Americans, see the following reports: Frank G. Mittebach and Grace Marshall, The Burden of Poverty, ("Mexican American Study Project," Advance Report 5) Los Angeles: University of California, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, July, 1966; Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas, Austin: University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1964; and W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright, Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-2) College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1966.

[6] *Ibid*.

[7] See Peter I. Rose, They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States, New York: Random House, 1964, pp. 42-45; Donald J. Bogue, The Population of the United States, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959, pp. 352-372; and Celia S. Heller, *op. cit*., pp. 3-4.

Despite the length of the Mexican Americans' presence in this country, little research of a strictly empirical nature has been accumulated on them. Furthermore, the majority of both the empirical and the subjective literature on Mexican Americans is either obsolete, or unsystematic, or both.[8] The lack of empirical information on Mexican Americans is especially revealing when compared with the research existing on Anglos, and even with that existing on Negroes. Not only is there a paucity of research on Mexican Americans; what is more, the majority of the material on them has been and continues to be of the impressionistic or subjective types and are rather specific to certain locations and/or communities and to a very small segment of the Mexican American population.[9] The "findings" of such subjective studies cannot be generalized to a very large portion of the ethnic group.

While the dearth of the empirical literature on Mexican Americans is evident at the most general levels of observation, the scarcity is even more apparent as the level of observation becomes more specific. For example, in the area of value orientations, a systematic and extensive search through the literature turned up only a handful of works on the status orientations of Mexican Americans.[10]

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[8] For a comprehensive and critical listing of the literature on Mexican Americans, see Bibliography ("Mexican American Study Project," Advance Report 3) Los Angeles: University of California, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, February, 1966.

[9] For examples of this type of study, which is based on participant observation, see Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican Americans in a Texas City, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966; William Madsen, The Mexican Americans of South Texas, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965; and Steve Allen, The Ground is Our Table, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966. Despite these works' and similar works' lack of an objective viewpoint, such works often perform the very valuable services of informing and motivating their readers.

One area of status orientations which has received a great deal of attention, especially in the last twenty years, is that of occupational status orientations of youth. This emphasis on occupational orientations, and on the occupational structure in general, has been justified because of the variegated role of the occupational structure in linking various elements of social organization.[11] For instance, researchers have pointed out that the occupational structure forms an important element of social stratification and of social mobility.[12] Furthermore, the assumption is often made that a positive relation exists between the occupational orientations of youth and their subsequent occupational achievement.

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[10] This effort to develop an inclusive listing of the research materials on value orientations, and eventually to annotate these materials, is currently being carried on in the Agricultural Economics and Sociology Department at Texas A&M University under the direction of William P. Kuvlesky. The specific report referred to is William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-1) College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1966. The works on Mexican Americans will be reviewed in a later chapter.

[11] See Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 7.

[12] Ibid., pp. 5-10.

As indicated previously, and in spite of the amount of interest in occupational orientations, few studies exist on the occupational orientations of Mexican Americans.[13] It is this general lack of recent, empirical research on Mexican Americans that has initiated this thesis. The general objective of this thesis is to investigate and to provide primarily descriptive information on the nature of several dimensions of occupational orientations as held by Mexican American youth.

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[13] Among those studies of which I am aware are the following: Arturo De Hoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspirations of Mexican American Youth." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961; Celia S. Heller, *op. cit.*; and Herschel T. Manuel, *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest... Their Education and the Public Welfare*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965.

CHAPTER II

FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Overview

Before proceeding to the framework to be employed, some comments need to be made about the nature of this thesis. As stated earlier, the intent of this study is to present descriptive information on the occupational orientations of Mexican American youth, an area where little empirical information currently exists. This thesis is neither analytical nor is it theoretical; that is, this study will not attempt to determine the significance of various factors for some other variables, nor will it attempt to clarify, formulate, or test theory. However, existing sociological theories on occupational choice will be utilized in an *ex post facto* manner in an effort to offer possible explanations and interpretations of the findings obtained in this study.

The general objectives of this thesis are to investigate the following areas of occupational orientations as held by Mexican Americans: occupational status projections; generational occupational mobility aspirations; and job values. Occupational status projections are concerned with the nature of the respondents' desires and plans for themselves as related to occupations. On the other hand, when considering generational occupational mobility aspirations, the focus is shifted to the nature of the respondents' occupational status orientations as compared to the occupations of the respondents' parents. The last area of the study will examine the respondents' job values which are theoretically important considerations in the occupational choice process.

The information presented in this chapter is divided into three sections, one for each of the areas of investigation described above. Within each section, the conceptual framework to be utilized in analysis is presented and discussed. This discussion is followed by a brief review of research which supports the development and use of the framework. The review given below is to show that research has been performed which documents the usefulness of the analytical distinctions made between concepts and the fruitfulness of the framework for the study of orientations. The review does not extend to an inclusion of the various theories from which the conceptual frameworks were derived; such a decision is justified in that such reviews of theories have already been performed numerous times.[1]

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[1] For reviews of the relation between the conceptual framework used in this thesis and various sociological theories, see the following: George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, May 1967; and John T. Pelham, "An Analysis of Status Consistency of the Projected Frames of Reference: A Racial Comparison of Males in Selected Low-Income Areas of the Rural South," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

Thus, the review of literature below will not be lengthy. Its purpose is to inform the reader that a body of literature to substantiate this thesis's concepts does exist and is available; that body of literature will not be elaborated upon in this thesis.

Occupational Status Projections

Analysis of the Mexican American youth's occupational status projections will be pursued through the use of the aforementioned conceptual framework developed, primarily, by Kuvlesky and Bealer. Their framework, as it was originally developed and has subsequently evolved, is related to the theories of socialization, anticipatory socialization, and social mobility.[2]

From the first of these theories, the important point for this review is that through the process of socialization, members of a social collectivity learn or acquire the "requisite orientations for satisfactory functioning in a role in a social system"--that is, within a social system of which an individual is already a member.[3] Thus an individual learns how to perform in his present roles, and to some extent, his future roles.

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[2] See both of the above references; in addition, see the following: Angelita S. Obordo, "Status Orientations Toward Family Development: A Racial Comparison of Adolescent Girls from Low-Income Rural Areas," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968; Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968; and William P. Kuvlesky, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility." Paper presented at the National Vocational-Technical Education Seminar on Occupational Mobility and Migration, Raleigh, North Carolina, April 18-22, 1966.

The process of socialization is a continuous one which occurs at all stages of life, from childhood through adulthood; however, the process is most important for the child and the adolescent.[4] During the period of adolescence, an individual experiences a particular type of socialization which is of special importance, anticipatory socialization.

Anticipatory socialization is important because it facilitates the movement of an individual to a new status to which the individual aspires.[5] In the process of anticipatory socialization, the individual learns the privileges and obligations, the patterns of behavior, and the manners of thinking that will be expected of him in the future position that he hopes or intends to occupy. It is significant that through anticipatory socialization, the individual is preparing only for future statuses which are anticipated or desired.

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[3] Talcott Parsons, The Social System, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951, p. 205; and Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings, 3rd ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1963, pp. 93-104.

[4] Parsons, op. cit., p. 208, and Broom and Selznick, op. cit.

[5] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. and enl. ed., New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957, pp. 265-71.

Social mobility, most simply defined, is the movement of an individual from one status or position to another one in a social structure.[6] Mobility may be either vertical (movement between strata ranked in a hierarchy) or it may be horizontal (movement within the same stratum); and, both types of mobility exist in all societies.[7]

As mentioned, social mobility is facilitated by the processes of socialization and anticipatory socialization. Lastly, social mobility also encompasses mobility aspirations.[8] That is, mobility aspirations supply goals in numerous status areas toward which individuals strive. Mobility aspirations have been generally acknowledged to play a crucial role in the attainment of goals and in mobility, although this acknowledgement has been somewhat tempered recently.[9]

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[6] Broom & Selznick, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

[7] Ibid. See also Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959, pp. 2-3.

[8] Broom and Selznick, op. cit., p. 207.

[9] William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-76; and, for a more thorough discussion of the relationship of aspiration and attainment, see William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "The Relevance of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainments," Rural Sociology, 32 (September, 1967), pp. 290-301.

The three theories of socialization, anticipatory socialization, and social mobility are linked in that in all societies, and especially in a relatively more mobile society such as the United States, there is much movement on the part of individuals from position to position in the various social structures comprising the social system. As these persons move to new statuses, they learn through the process of socialization to fulfill their new positions. Of course, social mobility is the process of changing, or moving to different positions in the society; and mobility aspirations, which are linked with social mobility, select the goals and positions towards which individuals strive. Finally, anticipatory socialization is the process whereby individuals prepare in advance to properly fulfill the new positions which they desire, or toward which they strive.

The above interrelationship provides the background for the framework devised by Kuvlesky and Bealer, a framework which was evolved primarily in response to the confused and unsystematic research conducted in the area of "occupational choice."[10]

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[10] The following presentation of the conceptual framework to be used in studying occupational status orientations is taken from the following sources: Kuvlesky, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility," op. cit.; Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification...," op. cit.; and William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966.

According to Kuvlesky and Bealer, there was little attention paid to analytical distinctions between concepts used in the area of occupational choice. However, Kuvlesky and Bealer suggest that their scheme can be extended to status projections other than those focused solely on the status area of occupation. Indeed, the researchers point out that social behavior can best be understood, and therefore predicted, only by studying, or knowing, the importance of a number of an individual's goals relative to each other. Such an idea is not new, as much the same thing was proposed by Sorokin when he stated that differentiation of individuals on the basis of their position in one group is an over-simplification of socio-cultural facts.[11]

Thus, researchers indicate that what is needed is a multi-dimensional study of the value orientations of individuals toward a number of status areas. Studies which have involved a complex of status areas for analysis, rather than taking the traditional unidimensional look at one status area, are rare. Among those that have taken the more expanded focal point, there have been two recent studies, both of which have employed the conceptual framework to be used here.[12]

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[11] Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 265.

However, for purposes of expediency and expense, this thesis will take the more traditional, hence, less meaningful, approach of focusing on only one status area, that of occupation. Numerous reasons can be given for choosing occupational orientations as the focal point over orientations in other areas. Occupational status is probably the most widely used single indicator of one's socio-economic status.[13] Furthermore, a number of an individual's major social attributes, other than occupation, are highly interrelated with his occupation. For example, one's occupation reflects the quantity of his education;[14] the income, both type and quantity, a person receives is dependent upon that person's occupation;[15] and so on. The nature of an individual's occupation also influences his uses of leisure time, his time spent with the family, and in general his style of life and material possessions. Even such diverse phenomena as satisfaction with one's work varies according to one's occupation.[16] One's occupation shapes and organizes his desires, interests, and sentiments; and, persons in the various occupations differentially partake in the exercise of power and in society in general. Finally, occupations are widely recognized as being an important nucleus of social organization.[17]

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[12] Pelham, op. cit.; and William P. Kuvlesky and W. Kennedy Upham, "Social Ambitions of Teen-Age Boys Living in an Economically Depressed Area of the South: A Racial Comparison." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, March, 1967.

[13] Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1964, pp. 459-460; Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 7.

[14] Martin Trow, "The Second Transformation of American Secondary Education," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, New York: The Free Press, 1966, pp. 437-49. See especially, pp. 438-39.

[15] Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964, pp. 37-55.

At this point, the conceptual framework developed by Kuvlesky and Bealer will be presented and discussed in detail. Although reference is not continually made to Kuvlesky and Bealer, the discussion relies heavily upon certain of these men's works.[18] In this conceptual scheme, attention is focused on the idea that a person, after evaluating the goals existing in his society's culture, projects his own future status-positions in a number of social structures. In turn, these status projections are viewed as the process of a person "orienting" himself toward social objects. This phenomena of being "future oriented" is rather well documented and apparently occurs in all individuals, the extent for any particular individual being a question of empirical fact.[19] In short, a great deal of time is spent contemplating future roles. The status projection can be broken down into the elements of status object and status orientation; these elements are discussed below.

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[16] Robert Blauner, "Work Satisfaction and Industrial Trends in Modern Society," in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, op. cit., pp. 473-87.

[17] Merton, op. cit., p. 126.

[18] Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification...," op. cit.; Kuvlesky, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility," op. cit.; Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison," op. cit.

Status object

The concept "status object" is clarified by indicating that these objects vary in kind and in level. "Kind" of object refers to social status areas, such as occupation, residence, education, income, and others. On the other hand, "level" refers to the position of a particular status object in a pre-established hierarchial arrangement of the same kind of status objects. Hence, a particular kind of status object exists at a particular level. For example, education is a kind of status object; and within the status area of education, a high school education exists at a lower level than does a college education.

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[19] Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, The Adolescent Experience, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966, pp. 22-26; and Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964, pp. 1-18, 207-18.

Briefly, this clarification suggests that individuals have a number of goals in various social structures and that these goals may be relatively specific. That individuals can indeed specify rather precise goals has been shown numerous times.[20] For example (and an example could be taken from almost any study of the aspirations of youth), in a study of the consistency of status projections of rural youth in the South, Pelham indicates that respondents specified educational, occupational, and income goals.[21]

Status orientation

The second element of a status projection, status orientation, refers to the person's emotional ties with the analytically distinct status object. These emotional ties may vary in strength, from weak to strong. Status orientation is further elaborated by differentiating between two subtypes of orientation: aspiration and expectation, which are discussed below.

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[20] In reference to occupational goals, see the following: A. O. Haller and I. W. Miller, The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory, Structure and Correlates, East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin, 288, 1963, p. 71; Lawrence Drabick, The Vocational Agriculture Student and His Peers, Raleigh: North Carolina State College, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, 1963; Richard M. Stephenson, "Realism of Vocational Choice: A Critique and an Example," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 35 (April, 1957), pp. 482-88.

[21] Pelham, op. cit., pp. 58-60, 128-30.

Aspiration

Aspiration and attitude are similar in that both these concepts refer to a person's predispositions to act toward a social object in a certain manner. However, aspiration and attitude differ in that aspiration signifies a favorable or positive predisposition, whereas attitude may signify either a positive or a negative predisposition. Hence, the concept of aspiration implies that a person wants, or desires, a social object, which is therefore a goal.

Given a specified goal, a person may have a variable amount of desire for that goal. Furthermore, the goal and the desire for that goal can vary independently of each other. For example, a person may desire to be a mechanical engineer and be willing to forego other goals to achieve his occupational goal, whereas another person may likewise desire to be a mechanical engineer but not be willing to forego any of his other goals if necessary in order to achieve the occupational goal. Thus, an individual can have a strong or weak aspiration depending on the intensity of his desire to achieve a specific goal, and regardless of whether the goal itself is high or low in a ranking of similar goals.

Expectation

The next step involved in the scheme to be employed in this thesis is to make the analytical distinction between the concepts of aspiration and expectation. Aspiration refers to a projected status attainment which is desired. But, expectation indicates a projected status attainment which is anticipated and which may or may not be desired. Thus, the status object involved in an aspiration is a goal, whereas the status object involved in an expectation need not be a goal. In addition, just as the strength of the orientation toward the object of an aspiration can vary, so also can the strength of the orientation toward the object of an expectation. However, in the case of an expectation, the strength of orientation is called certainty of expectation.

The separation of status orientation into aspiration and expectation has been deemed "fruitful in providing for a more comprehensive study of...orientations held by youth than had been accomplished previously."[22] Furthermore, this distinction is one that had been adjudged necessary if any meaningful understanding of orientation was to be obtained.[23] Beyond yielding a better understanding of orientations the distinction helped in codifying and synthesizing much of the research in value orientations, a worthwhile contribution in itself.[24] Finally, there is much past research which illustrates that many persons can and do distinguish between their aspirations and expectations.[25] An interesting note at this point is that the evidence showing that persons differentiate aspiration from expectation also indicates that, in general, expectations are more "realistic" than are aspirations.[26]

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[22] Ohlendorf, op. cit., p. 86.

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[23] For references to the need to distinguish between aspiration and expectation, see the following sources: William P. Kuvlesky and John T. Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Department Technical Report, No. 66-3), College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1966, pp. 7-9; Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification...," op. cit., pp. 273-74; and Stephenson, "Realism of Vocational Choice...," op. cit., p. 483.

[24] Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit.; and Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification...," op. cit.

[25] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 204-12; Stephenson, "Realism of Vocational Choice...," op. cit.; and Drabick, op. cit.

[26] All those references cited in the previous footnote; see especially Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation...," op. cit.

In contrast to the abundance of empirical reports on status orientations, that is, aspirations and expectations, a review of research literature disclosed only a handful of studies which investigated the relative intensity of aspirations and the certainty of expectations.[27] And it is significant that these studies all utilized either the same conceptual framework or one very similar to that which will be employed in thesis.

Anticipatory deflection

Once the distinction is made between aspiration (that which is desired) and expectation (that which is expected), it is obvious that there may be a lack of agreement between them. Such a disagreement is termed anticipatory deflection, which may vary both in nature and in degree. By nature of deflection is meant the direction of the difference between aspiration and expectation. And, by degree of deflection is meant the extent of the difference between aspiration and expectation. Both nature and degree of deflection are discussed below.

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[27] For recent studies of orientations including analysis of intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation, see: William P. Kuvlesky and John T. Pelham, "Community of Residence Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: Implications for Action." Paper presented at the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers meetings in New Orleans, January 31, 1967; Ohlendorf, op. cit.; Drabick, op. cit. and Donald R. Kaldor, et al., Occupational Plans of Iowa Farm Boys, Ames: Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 508, September, 1962, pp. 623-24.

Anticipatory deflection, as indicated above is a derived concept, arrived at by comparing aspiration with expectation. The first consideration in this comparison is that of the nature of deflection, that is, whether or not the expectation is higher or lower than the aspiration. There are three possibilities: (1) the expectation is the same as the aspiration, in which case no deflection exists; (2) or, the expectation is higher than the aspiration, indicating that positive deflection exists; (3) and, finally, the expectation is lower than the aspiration, indicating that negative deflection exists.

The second consideration in the comparison of aspiration and expectation, once nature of deflection has been determined, is that of degree of deflection. Degree of deflection is determined by taking the absolute difference between the levels of the aspiration and of the expectation, regardless of direction of deflection. Both nature of deflection and degree or deflection must be taken together to fully describe anticipatory deflection.

Anticipatory deflection, which relates aspiration and expectation and represents a lack of congruity between what is desired and what is expected, has until recently usually been reported on an aggregate basis, or not at all.[28]

This dimension of status orientations appears to be better studied for occupational goals than for educational goals. There have been numerous researchers who report that the extent of anticipatory deflection for a certain group from its occupational goals is related with level of socio-economic status in that the lower the SES, the greater the negative deflection.[29] In addition, some evidence exists to show that there are racial differences in the degree of anticipatory deflection which is experienced; for example, Negro youth experience a higher degree of anticipatory deflection than white youth.[30] Little evidence exists to suggest that boys experience anticipatory deflection to a greater extent than do girls. Lastly, research on the correlates of anticipatory deflection is nonexistent.

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[28] *For exceptions* to this reporting on an aggregate basis see: Thomas H. Nunalee, III, and Lawrence W. Drabick, Occupational Desires and Expectations of North Carolina High School Seniors, Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No. 3, June, 1965. For citations of other studies making individual comparison, see Kuvlesky and Pelham, "Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth...," op. cit.

[29] See, for example: Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation...," op. cit.; Walter L. Slocum, Occupational and Educational Plans of High School Seniors from Farm and Non-farm Homes, Pullman: Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 564, February, 1956. Other studies supporting this finding are listed in Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, op. cit., pp. 18-19, footnote 19.

[30] Nunalee and Drabick, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

Earlier in this presentation mention was made of the fact that the research in status orientations has been confused and unsystematic, partially due to a confusion in terminology and conceptualization. For example, Hyman studies value orientations and finds that they differ according to class.[31] Merton studies value orientations and determines that value orientations are universal.[32] Then Stephenson researches value orientations and suggests that there is an element of truth in both Hyman's and Merton's work; that is, Stephenson finds that youth, regardless of class, have high desires, but that what they anticipate differs according to class.[33] Ohlendorf and Ameen find that lower class youth have high levels of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.[34] One could amass an abundance of research to support either argument. Pelham, in analyzing the consistency of youth's value orientations, arrived at conclusions which support the findings of Ohlendorf and Ameen.[35] And, thus, the research continues, offering no clear conclusions and limiting the potential usefulness of the research.

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[31] Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, op. cit., pp. 488-99.

[32] Merton, op. cit., pp. 170-76.

[33] Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation...," op. cit., pp. 211-13.

[34] Ohlendorf, op. cit., p. 78; Ameen, op. cit., p. 70.

Summary

Thus, Kuvlesky's and Bealer's conceptual scheme, as applied to this thesis problem, consists of the following interrelated, but analytically distinct concepts:

a. occupational aspiration, or the job the respondent most desires and which is therefore his occupational goal;

b. intensity of occupational aspiration, or the strength of the respondent's desire for his occupational goal relative to his desire for other status-goals;

c. occupational expectation, or the job the respondent anticipates obtaining, regardless of whether or not the respondent desires that job;

d. certainty of occupational expectation, or how sure the respondent is that he will have the job he anticipates; and,

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[35] Pelham, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

e. occupational anticipatory deflection, or the difference, both in direction and extent, if any, between the job the respondent desires and the job he believes he will have.

Taken together, these five elements compose an individual's occupational status projection.

Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations

An additional area to be investigated is that of generational, or intergenerational, occupational mobility aspirations of Mexican American youth. This area represents the combination of the concepts of generational mobility and that of occupational aspiration. Generational mobility is defined as the movement between father and son, or children.[36] This thesis is concerned with a specific type of generational mobility, i. e., occupational movement between the father and the son.[37] That is, this perspective views the respondent's level of occupational aspiration in relation to the occupational status of his family as indicated by the job of the respondent's head-of-household.

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[36] Berelson and Steiner, op. cit., p. 460.

[37] In some instances, the respondents did not live with their fathers; in these cases, the movement focused on is that between head-of-household and respondent.

A further modification that is made between studies of generational mobility and the analysis to be performed here is that this thesis will focus on the respondents' aspirations for generational mobility.[38] The concept of aspiration was explained in the preceding section and the same definition applies here.

Achievement in any area, the area of occupation, for example, is dependent upon the possession of both the necessary ability and the motivation to reach the goal.[39] However, ability may be retarded by a lack of motivation to gain whatever is instrumental for gaining one's goals. Thus, most attention would appear to be focused upon the goals and values toward which individuals from the various strata are oriented. Around this point of the value orientations of the different strata of society, much controversy exists. On the one hand, there exists a body of literature which purports that value orientations follow class lines, and on the other, there exists an equally substantial literature which shows that value orientations are not class bound.[40]

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[38] A somewhat similar type of analysis was performed by Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation...," op. cit.

[39] Hyman, op. cit., p. 490.

[40] For the most explicit statement of the former position, see the article by Hyman cited in the preceding footnote. The classic presentation of the latter position is perhaps that by Merton, op. cit., pp. 131-39, 161-70.

However, the aforementioned confusion in terminology and conceptualization which exists in the study of value orientations again appears to limit the potential usefulness of the research. That is, the research literature on generational occupational mobility aspiration seems to offer no clear conclusion. In those studies which do precisely and clearly differentiate between aspiration and expectation, there are few actual studies of generational occupational mobility aspirations, per se; rather, inferences about mobility orientations are made on the basis of aggregate information contained within the reports.[41] Therefore, rather than choose a particular viewpoint on value orientations and from it derive hypotheses to be tested, this thesis will use the conceptual framework described earlier (which precisely separates aspiration from expectation) to investigate and report the mobility orientations of Mexican American youth on an individual basis.

Job Values

The final area of analysis in this thesis will be concerned with selected criteria which are theoretically involved in the occupational choice process. These criteria are variously labeled "job values," "job preferences," "work conditions," and so forth, and are supposedly important considerations for youth when they choose an occupational goal. Various formulations of what criteria are relevant in the process of occupational choice have been proposed, the most comprehensive of which is probably that created by Ellis and Tyler.[42] Their scheme appears below, and as can be seen is divided into four major sections: intrinsic features of the work tasks; extrinsic features; extra-role considerations; and feasibility considerations.

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[41] For an exception, see Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation...," op. cit.; to some extent Stephenson's study is questionable because the instrument which was used for measuring aspiration was considered ambiguous.

The intrinsic features comprise those criteria covering the attractiveness of the work activity iself, whereas the extrinsic features concern the benefits derived from the work. The next section of criteria, extra-role considerations, cover both the institutional setting for work and also non-work factors, for example, a particular living area. Feasibility considerations, the last section of criteria, deals with the individual's perceived chances of realizing specified work goals. The scheme as proposed by Ellis and Tyler is as follows:

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[42] Robert A. Ellis and Leona Tyler, Planned and Unplanned Aspects of Occupational Choices by Youth: Toward a Morphology of Occupational Choice, Eugene, Oregon: The University of Oregon, December 15, 1967.

A. Intrinsic Features of the Work Task

1. Self fulfillment
    a. Creativity
    b. Expression of interest in work
    c. Work with head or ideas
    d. Work with hands or tools

2. Social fulfillment
    a. Service to others
    b. Work with people
    c. Meet interesting people

3. Power considerations
    a. Autonomy
    b. Leadership
    c. Responsibility

4. Stimulation
    a. Variety
    b. Travel
    c. Adventure

5. Work conditions
    a. Desirable conditions
    b. Hours on the job
    c. Safety
    d. Ease of difficulty
    e. Duration

B. Extrinsic Rewards of Work

1. Status
2. Economic benefits
3. Fringe benefits
4. Security
5. Schedule of payments

C. Extra-Role Considerations

1. Work setting
2. Non-work considerations

D. Feasibility

1. Self appraisal
2. Assessment of the opportunity structure

These elements of orientation should be investigated as theory and research would suggest that these elements play an important part in the process of selecting an education.[43] A complete understanding of occupational aspirations cannot be obtained unless such areas as job values are investigated.

Recent research has indicated that individuals can be oriented toward and can have goals for particular work conditions that are not in a direct manner relevant to status evaluation in a hierarchial manner.[44] In the current United States society, much is said about the "cash-register" orientation that seemingly prevails among most modern American youth, whereby youth choose occupations on the basis of what they will return in the way of monetary reward.[45] In their study, the researchers found that students gave greater emphasis to self-fulfillment, interpersonal satisfactions, and security than to money, status, freedom from supervision, and possibility of exercising leadership. In addition, three major clusters of job value orientation were found--"people oriented," "extrinsic reward oriented," and "self expression oriented"--which were associated with types of occupation desired by the respondents. Another interesting finding from this research was the observation that although job values influence the selection of an occupation, there is also a tendency for the occupation which is selected to influence and determine the job values of the individual. However, the latter case, occupation desired influencing the individual's job values, is the rarer of the two phenomena. Furthermore, in cases of inconsistent occupational aspirations and job values, changes in either aspirations or values occurred over time so that greater consistency prevailed, with the predominant tendency being for aspirations to change rather than job values.[46]

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[43] See, for example, the following sources: Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957; David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual in Society, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962, pp. 130-34; and Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification...," op. cit., pp. 267-71.

[44] John B. Edlefsen and Martin Jay Crowe, Teenagers' Occupational Aspirations, Pullman: Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 618, 1960. See also the research by Rosenberg, op. cit.

[45] Leo Gurko, Heroes, Highbrows and the Popular Mind, New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953, pp. 69-70.

Ellis and Tyler, whose classification of job considerations appeared earlier, base part of their research on Rosenberg's, as may be evidenced by the use of some of the same considerations; however, the work by Ellis and Tyler is an extension of and is more comprehensive than that by Rosenberg.[47] In their research, Ellis and Tyler found that their list of job values discriminates between youth known to have different orientations toward their future occupational roles. In addition, the instrument used by these researchers is deemed useful in predicting differential behavior in youth with similar socioeconomic backgrounds.

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[46] This research project is reported in Rosenberg, op. cit.

[47] Ellis and Tyler, op. cit.

Along lines similar to the studies by Rosenberg and Ellis and Tyler, this thesis will include a brief descriptive analysis of how Mexican American youth responded to questions on the importance of selected job values in relation to their occupational aspirations. The job values selected for this purpose do not cover the entire range of values as formulated by Ellis and Tyler, nor are they the same values employed by Rosenberg. Rather, the values to be studied here are chosen from only those related to the intrinsic and extrinsic features of the work task. Those values which are considered in this thesis will be studied in an attempt to ascertain their significance for the occupational status orientations of the respondents. Finally, these job values will be related with the respondent's occupational aspirations to see if patterning exists.

Mexican American Literature

As noted earlier, research literature on Mexican Americans is obsolete, unsystematic, of the impressionistic variety, or some combination of the preceding. There are few recent studies of the occupational orientations of Mexican Americans.

Of those studies that do exist, the confusion in terminology and variability in methods and procedures renders the studies not entirely comparable, despite the similar findings of these studies.

In a study of the status orientations of Mexican American male high school students in Lansing, Michigan, De Hoyos employed "idealistic" and "realistic" measures of levels of occupational aspiration; these two categories appear roughly similar to those of "aspiration" and "expectation."[48] De Hoyos reports that, idealistically, slightly more than half of the respondents had "high levels" of occupational aspiration, while only one-twentieth had "low levels." The realistic measure produced similar results, the differences being that fewer respondents reported high levels of aspirations and more reported low levels.

Manuel, in a report on Mexican American youth of the Southwest, indicates that there are relatively few differences between the occupational aspirations of males and females.[49]

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[48] Arturo De Hoyos, "Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspiration of Mexican American Youth." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1961.

[49] Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965.

He reports nearly equal proportions of both sexes, about two-fifths, desired professional and managerial jobs. Approximately half of the females desired secretarial and clerical jobs, while one-fourth of the males aspired to skilled jobs. Manuel indicates that the expectations for these respondents were much lower than their aspirations, but, except for the professional and managerial category, he does not report the proportions.

In a Los Angeles study of Mexican American male high school seniors, Heller reports that a little more than one-third of the respondents aspired to professional or semiprofessional occupations.[50] Heller continues to say that when social class of the respondents is controlled, Mexican Americans differ only slightly from Anglo Americans.

Generational occupational mobility aspirations are reported by De Hoyos and Heller, and both report these on an aggregate rather than individual basis. De Hoyos found that two-thirds of his respondents' fathers had low occupational levels, but that none of the respondents idealisticly or realisticly desired similar occupations.[51] In addition, De Hoyos observed that although only three percent of the respondents' fathers had high level occupations, approximately half of the respondents desired such jobs. Finally, Heller's findings on generational occupational mobility aspirations for the Los Angeles youth were almost identical to those made by De Hoyos.[52]

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[50] Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, New York: Random House, 1966.

[51] De Hoyos, op. cit.

Research Objectives

This thesis represents the first known attempt to utilize the multi-dimensional framework described above for the study of the occupational orientations of Mexican American youth. The research objectives of this thesis can be divided into three sections: occupational status projections; generational occupational mobility aspirations; and job values. No research hypotheses are formulated. Furthermore, although there will be comparisons made between males and females, no statistical tests of significance will be utilized. The following questions are put forth to guide analysis: What occupational value orientations are held by Mexican American youth? What differences are there between males and females of this ethnic category? Each of the three general areas of investigation is elaborated below.

In studying the occupational status projections of Mexican American youth, attention is focused specifically upon the following:

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[52] Heller, op. cit.

1. Aspirations
   a. Goal Levels
   b. Intensity of aspiration

2. Expectations
   a. Anticipated levels
   b. Certainty of expectation

3. Anticipatory deflection
   a. Nature of deflection
   b. Degree of deflection

In the next section of analysis, Mexican American youth's occupational aspirations will be compared with the occupational status of the respondents' fathers or with heads-of-household, as the case may warrant. In this manner, the youth's generational occupational mobility aspirations may be obtained.

And in the final section of analysis, the importance of selected job values, theoretically important considerations in the occupational choice process, as related to the occupational aspirations of the Mexican American youth studied will be determined.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This thesis is derived from a larger research project entitled "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South" which is sponsored by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and the Cooperative State Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture.[1] The objective of the overall project is to study various aspects of the development and decision-making processes of people in the rural South. This thesis contributes to the larger research effort by focusing on the occupational orientations of Mexican American youth.

Source and Collection of Data

Source of data

The data for this thesis were obtained from a population of high school sophomores in two Southwest Texas counties and two South Texas counties. These four counties--Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata--were selected for study because they have relatively high proportions of Mexican Americans and low-income families residing in them as compared to Texas and the United States as a whole. In addition, three of the counties--the exception is Maverick County--have relatively high proportions of rural populations, again as compared with the state and the nation. Three of the counties are along the Rio Grande, bordering on Mexico, and the fourth county is contiguous to one of the counties bordering on the river. Detailed information on the study counties is presented in Appendix A; comparison are made between the counties and the state and nation along several selected socio-economic variables. Also included in Appendix A is information on the high schools from which the respondents were chosen and selected social background information on the respondents themselves.

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[1] Project S-61 is being carried on in several of the southern states. The project in Texas is under the leadership of William P. Kuvlesky, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology. Support for this thesis was provided as a contribution to the larger study.

These four counties were judged suitable for this thesis's purposes in that they met the criterion of having large proportions of Mexican American population. In addition, the counties met the desires of the larger research project, of which this thesis is a part, in that the respondents are from economically depressed and primarily rural areas in Texas.[2]

To summarize, in all four counties, agricultural production is a major source of income; other sources of income area, to a lesser extent, oil production and tourism. Agricultural employment accounts for the major portion of the labor force in the counties, and the skilled labor force is much smaller than the unskilled labor force. With the exception of Maverick County, the study counties have relatively large proportion of the population in rural areas; and Zapata County is all rural. Furthermore, all four counties have exceptionally large proportions of Mexican Americans and low income families living in them.

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[2] Maverick County was the only exception in that its population is predominantly urban with about three-fourths of the residents living in Eagle Pass which has a population over 12,000.

The nature of the schools which the respondents attend is an important variable which must be given consideration. Although only seven schools are involved, considerable variation exists between the schools, in size, in the nature of the students attending, in types of curricula available, and in numerous other characteristics. For example: the range in size of sophomore class was from 26 to 261 students; one high school was experiencing complete de facto segregation of Mexican American and Anglo students; the same high school reported that it had only one general curriculum to offer while another had a complete array; one high school principal reported a 70 percent dropout rate by the sophomore year whereas another principal indicated that his school had less than a one percent dropout rate through the entire elementary and secondary program; and so on.[3]

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[3] For additional information on the schools included in this study, see Appendix A.

This thesis is concerned with only the Mexican American youth enrolled as sophomores in the schools described above during the spring of 1967; these youth accounted for nine-tenths of all the sophomores enrolled in these schools at the time. Most of these Mexican American students were from relatively large families in which the major money earner was the respondent's father. About half of the students were from families in which the major earner had a low level occupation; for the most part, these persons were employed as farm laborers or laborers. Only a tenth of the Mexican American respondents had a head-of-household employed in a professional or managerial role. The vast majority of the respondents were from a family in which both their parents were present, and in which the respondent's mother did not work outside the household; only a third of the respondents reported that their mothers either worked or were looking for work outside the household. The most striking feature about the Mexican American respondents' families was the low level of educational achievement on the part of the respondents' parents; more than three-fourths of the students indicated that both parents had less than a high school education.

Collection of data

The field schedule was constructed and pretested by administering it to selected Negro and white boys and girls attending high school in Bryan and College Station during the summer of 1965. After pretesting, an 18-page questionnaire was constructed for field interviews of high school students in selected East Texas counties.[4] Data was gathered from these East Texas counties and in two other Southern states in the spring of 1966, and following this collection of data the questionnaire was shortened and modified to its present form.[5]

The data for this thesis were gathered in May 1967 by means of group interviews in the selected schools. The interviews were conducted by trained graduate students, one of whom read each stimulus question aloud as the respondents answered the question.[6] Names and addresses of the respondents were collected, but care was taken to insure that the respondents and their responses remained confidential. That the responses would be kept confidential was explained to the school officials and students before administering the questionnaires. The amount of time for administration of the questionnaire ranged from 35 minutes to 70 minutes; care was taken to administer the questionnaire at a pace best suited to the particular group of students involved in the interview.

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[4] For further information on the earlier questionnaire used in the East Texas study, see George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 1967, p. 37; and John T. Pelham, "An Analysis of Status Consistency of the Projected Frames of Reference: A Racial Comparison of Males in Selected Low-Income Areas of the Rural South," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 1968, pp. 38-39.

[5] The questionnaire was shortened to a standard length of 11 pages; however, as Mexican Americans were to be the focal point of this thesis, a twelfth page was included to obtain certain additional information on this group. This addition appears in Appendix B.

[6] A. O. Haller, among others, has pointed out that data obtained in a manner similar to that employed here may be influenced by the interview situation. In order to minimize any influence the interviewers may have had on the students' responses, the interviewers were introduced as respresentatives of Texas A&M University who were studying youth in Texas.

Questionnaires were completed by 669 students of the 765 sophomores who were enrolled in their respective schools at the time of the interview. High school sophomores were selected, in this instance, at least, primarily for the sake of convenience. That is, sophomores had been used in previous studies; therefore, the selection process was "shaped" by prior decisions. In the case of previous studies, sophomores were chosen because the researchers assumed *a priori* that at this age students have chosen a high school curriculum and that most of the potential dropouts would still be in school.[7] However, these assumptions are questionable, especially in the schools encountered in the study counties upon which this thesis draws.

Only those students who were present on the day the interview was scheduled were included; no attempt was made to contact students who were absent.[8] This thesis will concern itself with the responses of only the 596 Mexican American students who participated in the interviews; of these Mexican American respondents, there were 290 males and 306 females. Of those students not included in this thesis, there were three Negroes and 70 Anglos (i. e., neither Mexican American nor Negro).

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[7] See, for example, Ohlendorf, *op. cit.*, and Pelham, *op. cit.* The basic instrument was developed by a Southern Regional S-61 Project subcommittee composed of AES representatives from Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina.

Indicators and Measurements

Only a small portion of the responses contained in the questionnaire are analyzed in this thesis. The questions indicating ethnic membership, sex, occupational status projections, and job values were utilized. These questions are excerpted from the questionnaire and presented in Appendix B. The specific indicators and measurements are explained below.

Ethnic membership

Ethnic membership was determined by using the responses to four separate questions which asked the respondent to give his name, to indicate whether or not he is of Spanish-American ancestry, to indicate the language he uses in various social situations, and to indicate the birth place of his parents. The respondent's surname was then compared to those which are generally judged to indicate Spanish American or Mexican American heritage; this method of identification parallels that used by the Bureau of the Census.[9] The indicators on language and parents' birth place were used only as secondary checks. The method of identification described above is felt to be better than any single indicator of ethnicity, such as the Census Bureau's use only of surnames. However, the method of identification employed in this thesis, or for that matter, any method to identify Mexican Americans cannot insure complete accuracy.[10]

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[8] For a distribution of students by school, by those enrolled, and by those who answered the questionnaire, see Appendix A.

Occupational aspirations

Responses indicating occupational aspirations were elicited through the use of an open-ended question which instructed the student to specify the occupation he would most desire as a lifetime job if he were completely free to choose. The respondent was encouraged to be specific about the occupation he desired and to describe it as fully as possible. The stimulus question was worded so that the student would have a choice relatively free from any personal limiting factors or other realities in his particular situation. Furthermore, it was believed that use of the word "lifetime" would draw out the person's ultimate occupational goal. The respondents' answers to this open-ended question were classified according to the scheme which is presented and discussed later in this chapter.

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[9] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subjects Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC (2)-1B. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963, pp. VI-XII.

[10] For a discussion of alternative methods of identifying this ethnic group and the problems inherent in these methods, see Ibid.

Intensity of aspiration toward occupational goal was ascertained with an instrument composed of seven status goals and a stimulus question which instructed the respondent to rank the attainment of these goals in order of importance to him. The relative importance assigned to the occupational goal is considered to be a measure of intensity for that goal. The possible range in scores is 1 to 7; and the lower the score, the stronger the intensity of aspiration for that goal. For purposes of analysis, the scores will be grouped in the following manner: strong (1-2), intermediate (3-5), and weak (6-7).[11] The scores will be grouped in this manner so as to obtain more meaningful categories for interpreting the findings. This mode was chosen because the respondents are forced to assign priorities to the list of goals, thus enabling an analysis of the importance of certain goals.

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[11] This is a modified version of another scale reported by Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 233-42.

Occupational expectations

Responses indicating occupational expectations were obtained through the use of another open-ended question which instructed the student to specify the occupation he actually expects to have most of his life. Again, the student was encouraged to be specific about the occupation he anticipated, describing the job in detail if necessary. The wording of the question was such that the occupation indicated would, it was assumed, be one which reflected any personal or social restrictions experienced by the student. That is, the respondent would indicate the occupation he anticipated in view of the "realities" of his situation. Once more, the word "lifetime" is assumed to evoke the person's long run or ultimate occupational attainment. Again, the respondents' answers were classified according to the scheme which appears later in this chapter.

Certainty of expectation was ascertained with a stimulus question which instructed the respondent to indicate how certain he was of achieving his expected occupation. The respondent was to circle one of five alternatives representing varying degrees of certainty along a Likert-type scale. The degrees of certainty ranged from very certain to uncertain, and, for purposes of the analysis to be done in this thesis, were left in the original categories. This method of measurement was selected because it was the best abailable scheme to determine relative certainty by discriminating between these various degrees. A major disadvantage associated with this type of scale is that it has been noted not to fully discern between degrees of certainty.

Anticipatory deflection

Anticipatory deflection will be determined by comparing the measures of occupational aspiration and occupational expectation levels. If incongruency exists between these measures, then anticipatory deflection is said to exist. The types of deflection which are possible are positive deflection and negative deflection. Positive deflection exists if the expected occupation is higher than the desired occupation; negative deflection exists if the expected occupation is lower than the desired occupation. Another measure to be used in relation to anticipatory deflection is degree of deflection, which will be measured by subtracting the difference in the two points on the scales for occupational aspiration and expectation; the scales for occupational aspiration and expectation are discussed at a later point in this chapter. The extent of deflection may be reflected by considering both nature of deflection, positive or negative, and degree of deflection, the absolute difference between aspiration and expectation.

Generational occupational mobility aspirations

For analysis on this aspect, it is necessary to obtain, first, an occupational aspiration for the respondent, and, second, an indication of the occupation held by the respondent's father--or head-of-household as the case may be. The respondent's occupational aspiration will already have been obtained, as described above, and this same measure can be used again in this section of analysis. In obtaining an indication of the occupation held by the respondent's father or head-of-household, the respondent was first instructed to identify the major money earner in his family. The major money earner was assumed to also be the head-of-household; and, as it turned out, in the majority of the respondents' household, the head-of-household (major money earner) was the respondent's father. Next, the student was asked to indicate the occupation of his family's head-of-household, and, as in other questions concerning occupations, the student was instructed to give a specific occupation. Finally, mobility aspiration will be measured by comparing the measures of the respondent's occupational aspiration level and his head's-of-household current occupational level.[12] This measure of the respondents' occupational aspirations provides a relative, but perhaps more meaningful, evaluation of level of aspiration because this measure ties aspiration to the occupational status of the respondent's family.

Job values

Data on the importance of selected work conditions which are theoretically relevant in the process of choosing an occupational goal were obtained with an instrument composed of six variables chosen from the typology of job values created by Ellis and Tyler. Half of these six variables concern intrinsic features of the work activity; these three features are service to others, autonomy, and adventure. The other half of the variables on which data were gathered are related to the extrinsic features; these features include status, economic benefits, and security. As indicated, only six of the entire twenty-seven job features formulated by Ellis and Tyler will be studied. Furthermore, the six variables selected for study represent only the intrinsic and extrinsic features of the work task; no provisions were made to study the "extra-role" and "feasibility" considerations as suggested.

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[12] This method of analyzing inter-generational mobility or inter-generational mobility aspirations is not without its problems. Lipset and Bendix point out that this method of comparison is not specific for age, thus one father may be reported at the height of his career while another has not yet reached his peak. Furthermore, this method of analysis focuses upon one particular period of a person's career which is not necessarily representative of one's occupational status. For a discussion of inter-generational mobility analysis, see Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959, pp. 182-99.

The instrument had a stimulus question which directed the respondent to indicate how important each feature is for the job he desires. For each feature included in the instrument, the respondent could indicate one of four degrees of importance, from none to very much. From these responses, a weighted mean score of importance will be computed for each job value, and, based upon these mean scores, the job values included for analysis will be rank ordered by importance. The use of a weighted mean score to rank the job values is the only measurement that can be employed as the respondents were not instructed to rank the job values in relation to their occupational goals.

The next technique of analysis which will be utilized will be to compute weighted mean scores of importance for each job value and by each occupational aspiration category. In this way, the job values can be rank ordered in terms of importance for each type of occupational aspirant; hence, if differences existed in the value patterns of persons who desired qualitatively different jobs, this procedure should exhibit these differences.

Occupational classification scheme

The responses on occupational aspiration, occupational expectation, and occupation of respondent's head-of-household were all classified according to a modified form of the Census scheme.[13] This method was chosen primarily because of its wide use;[14] hence, the method permits better comparison of findings from various studies. The first change made in the Census scheme consisted of dividing the classification "professional, technical, and kindred" into "high professional," "low professional," and "glamorous." The category "high professional" refers to those occupations usually demanding degrees above the bachelor's, for example, doctor, lawyer, and college professor. "Low professional" denotes those occupations for which the educational requirement is normally only a bachelor's degree, for instance, registered nurse, elementary school teacher, and so on. The "glamour" category comprises those occupations having a glamorous connotation and those which are sometimes associated with personal ability rather than with achievement; examples of this type of occupation include entertainer, athlete, actor, and similar occupations.

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[13] The Census scheme is in Classified Index of Occupations and Industries, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1960.

[14] This same scheme was used in the following: Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas," Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 1968; and William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison," Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society meetings, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966.

A further modification to the Census scheme was to collapse the classes "clerical and kindred workers" and "sales workers" into the one category "clerical and sales"; this modification was justified because of the similar nature of the occupations in these categories. In addition, the "farm owner and manager" responses were included in the managerial category because few respondents indicated farm owner or manager as an aspiration (N=4) or an expectation (N=9). The last change was to include the responses pertaining to enlisted military and law enforcement jobs in the classification "operatives and kindred" rather than placing such responses in "craftsmen" and "operatives," respectively, as does the Census.

Thus, the occupational categories to be used in this thesis, in rank order, are as follows:

0. No information, or "Don't Know"
1. High Professional
2. Low Professional
3. Glamour
4. Owner, Manager, Official
5. Clerical and Sales

6. Skilled
7. Operatives
8. Unskilled
9. Housewife, and Other

Additional advantages to using the above scheme are that it permits noting differences among relatively high-level goals which would otherwise be missed, and, secondly, the finer distinctions made between categories allows detecting anticipatory deflection among high goal and expectation levels.

Data Processing

The data on the questionnaires were transferred to Fortran coding forms and then punched into Hollerith IBM cards. The forms and cards were independently verified. A random check of forms and cards disclosed an error rate of less than one percent for each item. Facilities of the Texas A&M University Data Processing Center were utilized to obtain frequency distribution and percentage distribution tables to be used in the analysis of the data.

Because the purpose of this thesis is to describe this population as fully as possible within the limits set forth above, data will be presented jointly for both the male and female respondents. Past research in the area of status orientations has indicated that differences do exist between the orientations of males and females of other groups; thus, there most likely will also be differences noted for the Mexican American males and females. However, since the primary concern of this thesis is to provide descriptive information in an area where little exists, no statistical tests for statistically significant differences will be made.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS: OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

The objectives of this chapter are to investigate the nature of occupational orientations as held by Mexican American youth, noting differences between male and female respondents. The findings are presented separately by sex in each of the three areas of analysis which were discussed in Chapter II; and, the analysis presented here will include all those variables previously discussed.

Occupational Status Projections

Goal levels

An examination of the respondents' preferences for qualitatively differentiated categories of jobs reveals that the majority of both Mexican American males and females indicated a desire for the high occupational categories, as approximately half of each group had occupational aspirations which were in the professional categories, Table 1. However, occupations in the "low professional" category were chosen to a much greater extent than were occupations in the "high professional" category. More than twice as many Mexican Americans desired jobs in the professional categories as aspired to jobs in either the clerical and sales category, or the skilled category. By comparison, relatively few Mexican Americans aspired to jobs in the glamour, managerial, operatives, and unskilled categories, as the total number of youth who desired jobs in these categories was less than two-fifths of the Mexican Americans studied.

In order to more lucidly depict the levels of occupation desired by Mexican Americans, the original nine occupational categories were collapsed into three broader levels, as shown in Table 2.[1] As can be seen, the majority of the youth studied had high occupational goals, while only a third of the youth had intermediate goals, and relatively few, one-twentieth, had low occupational goals.

The tendency to aspire to high levels of occupation was similar for both males and females; however, important differences did exist. For example, within the categories of professional jobs, a slightly greater proportion of females than males desired these types of jobs. Despite this, males desired high professional jobs at a rate four times that of females, Table 1. Other differences were that larger proportions of the males than of females desired jobs in the managerial, skilled, operatives, and unskilled categories. Conversely, a larger proportion of the females aspired to clerical and sales jobs than did the males. Differences between males' and females' occupational aspirations can perhaps be partially explained by the nature of the jobs placed in a particular occupational classification. Indeed, an examination of the broad levels of occupational goals indicate only slight differences between males and female respondents, Table 2.

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[1] The first three occupational categories--high professional, low professional, and glamour--were combined to form the "high" level occupational class. The "intermediate" level comprises the managerial, clerical and sales, and skilled jobs. Operatives, unskilled, and sometimes housewife, were combined to form the "low" level occupational class. According to some researchers in the field of occupation, the resulting three goal levels--high, intermediate, and low--were considered an improvement upon more often used two--class occupational categories; see for example William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientation of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison." Paper read at the Rural Sociological Society Meetings, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966.

Intensity of aspiration

Mexican American youth's intensity of aspiration was generally strong for both males and females, Table 3. More than two-thirds of each group indicated a strong desire for their occupational goals; and extremely small proportions of either sex indicated weak desires. Differences between males and females were inconsequential, as the only noticeable differences were that proportionately more females than males had strong desires for their occupational goals while proportionately more males than females had intermediate desires.

Table 1. Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females.

Occupational Aspiration	Males (N=279)	Females (N=300)	Total (N=579)
	Percent		
High Professional	13	3	8
Low Professional	35	51	44
Glamour	6	6	6
Managerial	8	1	4
Clerical and Sales	9	29	19
Skilled	20	7	13
Operatives	4	1	2
Unskilled	5	0	3
Housewife, Other	0	2	1
Total	100	100	100
No Information, Don't Know	11	6	17

Table 2. Occupational Aspiration Levels of Mexican American Males and Females.

Occupational Level	Males (N=279)	Females (N=300)	Total (N=579)
	----------	Percent	----------
High	54	60	58
Intermediate	37	37	36
Low	9	3	6
Total	100	100	100
No Information, Don't Know	11	6	17

Table 3. Intensity of Occupational Aspiration of Mexican American Males and Females.

Intensity	Males (N=288)	Females (N=305)	Total (N=593)
	----------	Percent	----------
Strong	69	72	71
Intermediate	29	24	26
Weak	2	4	3
Total	100	100	100
No Response	2	1	3

Anticipated levels

The occupations that the Mexican American youth expected to attain were not as concentrated as were their occupational goals; as shown, the youth's expectations ranged over the entire scale, Table 4. Despite this, more than one-third of the respondents expected to attain professional type jobs; and, as with aspirations, those respondents who expected low professional jobs were a substantially greater proportion than those expecting high professional jobs. A smaller proportion of the respondents, about one-fourth, expected to have clerical and sales jobs, while slightly less than one-fifth expected skilled jobs. As was the case with occupational aspirations, relatively few Mexican Americans expected to attain jobs in the glamour, managerial, operatives, and unskilled categories, the total for these categories being approximately one-fifth of the respondents.

Of interest is the observation that the jobs Mexican Americans indicated for aspirations and expectations followed similar patterns. For example, in terms of proportions of respondents, professional jobs were most frequently indicated and operative jobs were least often indicated for both aspirations and expectations. The only exception to this patterning is that the positions of managerial and glamour jobs were reversed for expectations.

Table 4. Occupational Expectations of Mexican American Males and Females.

Occupational Expectation	Males (N=279)	Females (N=300)	Total (N=579)
	Percent		
High Professional	6	2	4
Low Professional	31	31	31
Glamour	3	3	3
Managerial	12	1	6
Clerical and Sales	11	41	27
Skilled	24	8	16
Operatives	6	1	3
Unskilled	7	2	4
Housewife, Other	0	11	6
Total	100	100	100
No Information, Don't Know	11	6	17

As was done with aspirations, the Mexican Americans' occupational expectations were collapsed into three broad occupational levels. This manipulation shows that less than four-tenths of the respondents expected to have high level jobs as their lifetime occupations, Table 5. In addition, half of the respondents had intermediate expectations and more than one-tenth had low expectations.

Males and females had similar expectations in that one-third of each sex indicated professional jobs as their occupational expectations; beyond this similarity, however, several significant differences existed, Table 4. For male respondents, the ranking of occupational categories, in terms of proportions of male respondents expecting to attain them, was professional, skilled, and managerial jobs in that order. For females, a markedly different ranking, in terms of proportions of female students, was observed, as the first three categories were clerical and sales, professional, and housewife.

As was observed with aspirations, males expected to attain high professional jobs at a rate three times that of females, although equal proportions of both sexes expected low professional jobs. Three times as great a proportion of males than females expected skilled jobs; and proportionately twelve times as many males than females expected managerial jobs. On the other hand, four times as many females as males, proportionately,

Table 5. Occupational Expectation Levels of Mexican American Males and Females.

Occupational Level	Males (N=279)	Females (N=300)	Total (N=579)
	Percent		
High	40	36	38
Intermediate	47	50	49
Low	13	14	13
Total	100	100	100
No Information, Don't Know	11	6	17

Table 6. Certainty of Occupational Expectation of Mexican American Males and Females

Certainty	Males (N=279)	Females (N=297)	Total (N=576)
	Percent		
Very certain	10	7	8
Certain	26	25	26
Not very certain	54	58	56
Uncertain	7	8	7
Very uncertain	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100
No Response	11	9	20

expected clerical and sales jobs. Small proportions of either sex expected to attain operative and unskilled jobs; however, the rate for males expecting these categories was three times that of females.

By collapsing the youth's expectations into three broad occupational levels, one observes that only slight differences existed between males and females in the level of their expectations, Table 5. Slightly more than a third of each sex had high levels of expectations, while about half of both males and females had intermediate levels. Approximately one-tenth of each sex had two levels of occupational expectations.

Certainty of expectations

An examination of the data in Table 6 reveals that only a minority of the respondents felt any degree of certainty about their job expectations. On the other hand, even fewer respondents were "uncertain" or "very uncertain" of their expectations. Further examination of the data in Table 6 indicates no major differences between males and females on certainty of expectations.

Anticipatory deflection

Anticipatory deflection, as indicated earlier, is an individual measure, arrived at by comparing the individual's aspiration with his expectation. As evidenced by the data in Table 7, slightly less than two-thirds of the Mexican American youth were not experiencing anticipatory deflection; in other words, two-thirds of the youth studied fully expected to achieve their occupation goals. Of those youth who were deflected from their occupational goals, the majority were experiencing negative anticipatory deflection; youth negatively deflected accounted for three-fourths of those deflected. Finally, only a small proportion, less than one-tenth, of the youth were positively deflected--that is, expected to achieve occupations higher than their goals.

Practically no differences in nature of deflection existed between males and females, Table 7. As shown, approximately two-thirds of each sex were not deflected, while about three-tenths of each were negatively deflected and less than one-tenth of each were positively deflected.

The major differences between males and females in regards to anticipatory deflection existed among those who were negatively deflected. Among male respondents experiencing negative deflection, those deflected one or two degrees were proportionately equal to those deflected three or more degrees, Table 7. But for females experiencing negative deflection, those deflected three or more degrees were a substatnailly greater proportion than those deflected one or two degrees. In addition, the distribution for

for females included one more degree of negative deflection than did the distribution for males. Thus, the major difference between the two groupings was that females tended to experience a greater degree of negative deflection.

A logical assumption, based upon the nature of the occupational classification scheme employed, about anticipatory deflection is that direction and degree of deflection varies according to occupational aspiration; in addition, some research has been performed which supports this assumption.[2] In order to determine if there existed any type of relationship between anticipatory deflection and level of occupational goal, anticipatory deflection was cross-classified by sex and occupational goals, Table 8. The cross-classification reveals some interesting findings in rates of deflection between males and females at different goal levels.

The most striking observation is that the majority of the youth studied were not deflected from their goals, regardless of

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[2] See the comments in footnote 3; in addition, see the following: Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, op. cit.; and, Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas." Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

Table 7. Nature and Degree of Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational Goals of Mexican American Males and Females.

Deflection	Males (N=279)	Females (N=300)	Total (N=579)
	------------	Percent	------------
None	62	62	62
Positive	9	6	8
+1	3	2	
+2	2	1	
+3	1	1	
+4	2	1	
+5	1	1	
Negative	29	32	30
-1	7	2	
-2	6	3	
-3	7	13	
-4	4	7	
-5	2	1	
-6	3	1	
-7		5	
Total	100	100	100
No Information	11	6	17

Table 8. A Comparison of Anticipatory Deflection by Sex and Occupational Goal.*

Goal	Males (N=279)									Females (N=300)									
	Expectation									Expectation									
	No.	HP	LP	GL	MA	CS	SK	OP	USK	No.	HP	LP	GL	MA	CS	SK	OP	USK	HW
		PERCENT									PERCENT								
HP	36	$\boxed{42}$	22	3	17	3	8	5	0	9	$\boxed{56}$	11	0	0	33	0	0	0	0
LP	99	2	$\boxed{69}$	1	6	3	10	3	6	155	0	$\boxed{58}$	1	0	23	6	1	1	10
GL	17	6	6	$\boxed{29}$	6	24	29	0	0	17	0	6	$\boxed{35}$	0	41	6	0	0	12
MA	21	0	9	0	$\boxed{62}$	5	10	14	0	3	0	0	0	$\boxed{0}$	67	33	0	0	0
CS	24	0	4	0	0	$\boxed{71}$	17	4	4	88	0	0	1	1	$\boxed{82}$	4	1	2	9
SK	57	0	7	0	5	7	$\boxed{74}$	4	3	20	0	10	0	10	20	$\boxed{50}$	0	0	10
OP	11	0	27	0	18	9	0	$\boxed{37}$	9	2	0	50	0	0	50	0	$\boxed{0}$	0	0
USK	14	0	0	0	14	0	7	7	$\boxed{72}$	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	$\boxed{0}$	0
HW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	$\boxed{80}$

*Key

HP = High Professional
LP = Low Professional
GL = Glamour
MA = Managerial
CS = Clerical and Sales
SK = Skilled
OP = Operative
USK= Unskilled
HW = Housewife

Figures in $\boxed{\quad}$ represent the percentages who

were not deflected from goals. Figures to the left represent Positive deflection; those to the right represent Negative deflection.

the occupational category considered.[3] Indeed, nearly a third, and in most cases, one-half or more of both males and females were not deflected. Respondents who desired intermediate level jobs tended to experience the least amounts of anticipatory deflection. On the other hand, both males and females who desired jobs in the "glamour" category experienced the most anticipatory deflection; this category is discussed in greater detail in a moment.

Differences between males and females were slight. The highest rates of negative anticipatory deflection occurred for both sexes at the high levels of occupational aspiration; and for males, the highest rates of positive deflection were observed at the low levels of aspiration. No statement could be made concerning the rates of positive deflection among the females because their aspirations were concentrated into so few categories.

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[3] The statements about anticipatory deflection discount the females who desired to have jobs in the "managerial," "operatives," "unskilled," and "housewife" categories, a total of eleven respondents. This decision can be justified on the basis that the females represent such a small portion of the total sample. But, an additional and more important statement concerning rates of deflection must be made. To some extent, the rates of deflection are artifacts of the scheme for classifying such rates. For example, the highest rates of negative deflection ocurred at the high occupational level and the highest rates of negative deflection occurred at the low occupational level. But then, from the high level where is there to go except down--negative deflection--and from the low level where is there to go except up--positive deflection? These same statements are also applicable to the scheme employed later in this chapter to analyze generational occupational mobility aspirations.

The data in Table 8 does not indicate any patterning of the expectations of those males who anticipated being deflected from their goals. However, a very distinct trend was observed for females who did not expect to attain their goals in that the vast majority of those deflected expected to attain jobs in the "clerical and sales" category.

Finally, a few additional comments need to be made on the "glamour" category, for which there existed the least amount of congruence between goals and expectations. As indicated in a previous chapter, jobs subsumed under the title "glamour" are those most often associated with special ability rather than with achievement. Thus, one inference that could be made in regards to youth desiring these "glamourous" jobs is that they were realistic in appraising their expectations. This inference is strengthened by the observation that youth deflected from this occupational category expected to attain jobs in significantly lower categories: "clerical and sales" and "skilled" jobs for the males; and "clerical and sales" and "housewife" for the females.

Summary

The majority of the Mexican Americans studied aspired to have jobs in the professional category, primarily in the "low" professional as opposed to the "high" professional category; and, proportionately more males than females desired "high" professional jobs. The proportions of males who desired managerial, skilled, operative, and unskilled jobs were greater than those for females who desired these same types of jobs; however, proportionately more females than males desired clerical and sales jobs. Most respondents of each sex expressed a strong intensity of desire for their occupational goals.

The occupational expectations of the respondents were not as concentrated in the high occupational level as were their aspirations; however, most of the respondents expected professional type jobs, "low" professional again outranking "high" professional jobs. A similar patterning of jobs most frequently given for aspirations and expectations was observed, with the most frequent responses being professional, the next most frequent being managerial and glamour, and the least frequent response being operative. The same sex differences noted for aspirations also prevailed for expectations. The majority of both males and females indicated that they were not very certain about attaining their expectations.

Two-thirds of each group experienced no occupational anticipatory deflection; that is, two-thirds of both males and females really expected to attain the same jobs they desired. Only three-tenths of the respondents experienced negative anticipatory deflection; and, among those negatively deflected, females were much more likely than males to be severely deflected from their occupational goals. However, among only those respondents who had high level goals, males were more likely to be deflected than females. Despite these findings on deflection, the predominant tendency was to not be deflected regardless of the level of the occupational goal. Finally, the highest rates of negative anticipatory deflection occurred at the highest levels of occupational goals; and, although patterning of the expectations of those deflected did not occur for males, it did for females.

Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations

This section of analysis will be concerned with the Mexican American respondents' desires for occupational mobility relative to the occupational level of their heads-of-households. As indicated earlier, the respondent's father was the head-of-household in three-fourths of the cases.[4] The analysis to be presented here is not, and should not be construed to be, a measure of the respondents' total social mobility which includes much more than merely occupational mobility. Rather, it is a measure of the respondents' desires for only one facet of social mobility, and that facet is the desire for generational occupational mobility. The first part of the analysis below deals with the nature and extent of the respondent's mobility aspirations irrespective of the occupational status of his family; in other words, the focus is on whether the mobility aspiration is positive or negative and how many degrees. The second part of analysis deals with the respondent's occupational mobility desires, focusing upon the specific occupational position from which he originated and upon the particular level of his occupational aspiration.

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[4] Data on identity of respondents' heads-of-household and related aspects of the respondents' families appear in Appendix A, Tables 23-27.

Nature and extent of mobility aspirations

The majority of the Mexican American respondents desired to be upwardly mobile, at least, as far as their occupations were concerned. That is, three-fourths of the respondents desired occupations which were above the occupational level of their families, Table 9; however, those desiring upward mobility were dispersed over most of the degree categories for upward mobility with no dramatic clustering evident. Furthermore, analysis of this indicates, not only that the respondents desire upward mobility, but that more than half of all the respondents desired occupations three or more degrees above that of their families-of-orientation. In contrast, less than one-fifth of the Mexican Americans desired to be downwardly mobile in terms of occupational mobility; and, for the most part, those who did desire to be downwardly mobile desired an occupation only one or two degrees below that of their families. Finally, only one-tenth of all the respondents did not desire occupational mobility; that, is, these respondents indicated that they desired the same level of occupation as that held by their families-of-orientation.[5]

The data presented in Table 9 also shows that very few differences existed between males and females in regards to occupational mobility aspirations. The paramount difference was that the rate of those not desiring occupational mobility was nearly three times as great for males as for females. The only other significant difference between males and females was that the distribution of females desiring downward mobility included one more level than did the distribution of males, but only a small percentage of the females was involved.

Occupational aspirations by occupational level of respondents' families-of-orientation

Whereas the preceding part of the analysis dealt with the nature and extent of aspirations for intergenerational mobility,

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[5] Detailed analysis of those not desiring generational occupational mobility was precluded because this portion of the respondents was so small (N=56). Of these fifty-six, forty were males; and, more than half of these males not desiring generational occupational mobility had heads-of-household with an intermediate level occupation. A similar finding occurred for females not desiring generational occupational mobility in that six-tenths of them had heads-of-household with a clerical or sales job.

Table 9. Nature and Degree of Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females.

Mobility Aspirations	Males (N=245)	Females (N=265)	Total (N=510)
	PERCENT		
None	16	6	11
Upward	72	76	74
+1	8	5	7
+2	16	17	16
+3	13	17	15
+4	9	12	11
+5	11	9	10
+6	13	15	14
+7	2	1	1
Downward	12	18	15
-1	7	11	9
-2	3	3	3
-3	2	1	1
-4	0	3	2
Total	100	100	100
No Information	45	41	86

this part of analysis focuses upon an examination of the specific combinations of occupational status of the family-of-orientation and the occupations desired by the respondents. This method was employed in order to determine whether differential patterning of aspirations occurs by occupation of family of orientation. The data for this part of the analysis are presented in two tables, one of which utilizes the expanded occupational classification scheme to get at specific qualitative patterns and the other uses the collapsed levels of occupation to get at broad patterns. Each table is discussed separately, with attention paid to male-female differences in each.[6]

The predominant trend noted upon examination of the data employing the expanded classificatory scheme is that large proportions of respondents desired professional--"high" and "low" professional combined--type jobs, regardless of the occupational levels of the respondents' families, Table 10. This trend might have been expected, given the preceding findings reviewed earlier in this chapter.

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[6] This part of the analysis excludes the youth whose family-of-orientation was in the "glamour" occupational category (N=2); one of these two youth was a female who desired a "clerical and sales" job, and one was a male who desired a "glamour" job.

Another important tendency, although not as pronounced as that discussed above, is that the proportions of respondents who desired professional jobs appears to be related to the occupational level of the respondents' families-of-orientation. That is, the proportions of respondents desiring professional jobs were, with but two exceptions, highest among those students from families that were among the upper categories of the occupational classification scheme and lowest for those respondents from families at the lowest categories. Furthermore, this trend was more pronounced for males than for females. However, there were two important exceptions to this relationship. The first exception was male respondents with skilled heads-of-household; and, the second was females with clerical or sales heads-of-household, Table 10. In the two exceptions described above, the respondents in each case had the smallest percentages of those aspiring to professional jobs, 28 percent for males and 48 percent for females. Another observation that supports the finding concerning the relation of occupational aspiration and the occupational status of the respondent's family, at least for males, is that those respondents desiring "high professional" jobs are primarily from families in the upper occupational categories; very few respondents from families in the lower occupational categories desired "high professional" jobs.

The following findings about generational occupational mobility aspirations are also visible in Table 10. First, the largest rates of not desiring generational occupational mobility occurred for males with skilled heads-of-household and for females with clerical or sales heads-of-household, 41 percent and 32 percent, respectively. Secondly, both males and females with operatives heads-of-household had the largest single proportions of respondents who expressed a desire for upward generational occupational mobility, these proportions being two-fifths for males and three-fifths for females. Lastly, the largest single rates of downward occupational mobility aspirations were experienced by males and females of families with a "high" professional head-of-household.

An examination of the data in Table 10 further reveals some interesting differences between Mexican American males and females on generational occupational mobility aspirations. For males, no particular clustering of occupational aspirations was noted except for males from "high professional" families; these respondents' aspirations were largely concentrated into the highest occupational categories whereas the aspirations of respondents from families other than "high professional" were generally dispersed over the entire range of occupational categories. However, a very distinct concentration of the females' occupational aspirations was noted;

Table 10. Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations: A Cross-Classification of the Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females by Occupation of Respondents' Head-of-Household.

Part A. MALES

Occupation of Respondent's Head-of-Household	No.	Respondent's Occupational Aspiration High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Managerial	Cler.-Sales	Skilled	Operatives	Unskilled	Other	Total
		PERCENT									
High Prof.	16	25	63	--	6	--	--	6	--	--	100
Managerial	41	22	34	5	12	5	15	5	2	--	100
Cler.-Sales	24	25	29	4	8	13	13	4	4	--	100
Skilled	39	8	20	13	8	8	41	2	--	--	100
Operatives	37	--	43	3	5	14	27	5	3	--	100
Unskilled	87	6	36	8	8	9	18	5	10	--	100

Part B. FEMALES

Occupation of Respondent's Head-of-Household	No.	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Managerial	Cler.-Sales	Skilled	Operatives	Unskilled	Other	Total
High Prof.*	24	8	59	4	--	25	4	--	--	--	100
Managerial	49	2	55	4	--	29	10	--	--	--	100
Cler.-Sales	31	--	48	11	--	32	3	3	--	3	100
Skilled	53	7	51	6	2	23	7	2	--	2	100
Operatives	27	--	59	11	--	30	--	--	--	--	100
Unskilled	80	2	49	5	2	34	8	--	--	--	100

*Includes 1 Low Professional

their aspirations were consistently, and regardless of the occupational status of their families, clustered into the "low professional" and "clerical and sales" categories.

In order to describe the broad patterns of generational occupational mobility aspirations, the data in Table 10 were reorganized by using the previously described collapsed levels of occupation; and, the results from this manipulation are displayed in Table 11.[7] As can be seen from this table, the fact that large proportions of Mexican Americans desired high level jobs, regardless of their families-of-orientations, is more pronounced than was observed when using the expanded classificatory scheme. Also more conspicuous in Table 11 is the tendency of aspirations for high level jobs to follow the occupational level of the respondents' families-of-orientation; for example, almost nine-tenths of the males from families of a high occupational level desired high level jobs, but only one-half of the males from families of a low occupational level had similar aspirations. Very little about direction of generational occupational mobility aspirations can be determined from this set of tables except that, in general, the youth studied desired either to be upwardly mobile or to maintain a high occupational level.

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[7] This collapsed classificatory scheme was previously explained and the reasons for its use presented in the preceding section of analysis, "Occupational Status Projections;" see especially footnote 1.

Table 11. Generational Occupational Mobility Aspirations: A Cross-Classification of the Occupational Aspiration Levels of Mexican American Males and Females by Occupational Level of Respondent's Head-of-Household.

Part A. MALES

Occupational Level of Respondent's Head-of-Household	Respondent's Occupational Aspiration Level			
	High	Intermediate	Low	Total
	-------------PERCENT-------------			
High (N=16)	88	6	6	100
Intermediate (N=104)	53	41	6	100
Low (N=124)	48	39	13	100

Part B. FEMALES

Occupational Level of Respondent's Head-of-Household	Respondent's Occupational Aspiration Level			
	High	Intermediate	Low	Total
High (N=24)	67	33	0	100
Intermediate (N=133)	62	35	3	100
Low (N=107)	60	40	0	100

Summary

The vast majority of the Mexican American respondents indicated a desire for upward generational occupational mobility. Furthermore, most of the respondents desired an occupation three or more levels above the occupational level of their families-of-orientation; this observation is, in part, a result of the fact that the majority of the respondents' heads-of-household had low level occupations. The minority of Mexican Americans who did not desire upward job mobility indicated either a desire for no gernerational mobility or, more often, aspiration levels only slightly below that of the head of the household.

Two major tendencies were observed in the part of analysis concerned with the relation of occupational aspirations of respondents and the occupational level of respondents' families-of-orientation. The first and most definite of these tendencies was that large proportions of the respondents desired professional or other high level jobs regardless of the occupational levels of the respondents' families-of-orientation. The second and less pronounced tendency was for the proportions of respondents desiring high level jobs to be related to the occupational levels of the respondents' families-of-orientation, in that the higher the occupational level of the family, the higher the rate of respondents who desired high level jobs. The latter tendency was more apparent for males than for females.

Beyond the finding that many respondents desired professional jobs, no patterning of occupational aspirations was noted for males, with the exception of male respondents from families in the "high professional" category. However, the aspirations of females were more concentrated than those of the males; regardless of the occupational status of their families, large proportions of females desired "low professional" and "clerical and sales" jobs.

A number of findings about direction of generational occupational mobility aspirations were also made. The highest rates of downward mobility aspirations occurred for respondents from families with a professionally employed head-of-household, whereas the highest rates of upward mobility aspirations occurred for respondents whose head-of-household was an operative. The largest proportion of Mexican Americans indicating no desire for occupational mobility were from households where the head held a skilled, clerical, or sales job.

Job Values

This final section of analysis will investigate certain criteria, often referred to as job values, which are assumed to be considered by youth when choosing an occupational goal. Past research has indicated that youth who differentially emphasize certain job values tend to differ in their occupational goals, a finding which, to some extent, has been used to explain class differences in occupational goals. The objective in this section of the thesis is to investigate the relation of certain job values to the occupational aspirations of Mexican American youth to see if there is any patterning of the combinations of their job values and work goals.

Only a few job values were selected for this study, and these values are not representative of the many that could have been included. The job values which were selected were divided into two categories and included the following:

Intrinsic

1. Help other people
2. One's own boss
3. Excitement

Extrinsic

4. Status-prestige
5. Monetary reward
6. Steady employment

For each of the above job values, the respondents indicated a degree of importance, along a four point scale, of this consideration for selection of their occupational goals. The original response categories and frequency distributions of responses appear in Table 12. As can be seen from the data in this table, most of the respondents tended to indicate that each job value was either "important" or "very important;" that is, the youth tended to cluster at the end of the scale indicating greater importance.

Table 12. Degrees of Importance of Selected Job Values of the Occupational Goals of Mexican American Males and Females.

Part A. MALES

Job Value		Degree of Importance					
	No.	Very Imp.	Imp.	Not very Imp.	Not at All Imp.	Total	No Response
		Percent					
Help other people	290	35	49	14	2	100	0
One's own boss	287	30	33	27	10	100	3
Excitement	286	22	36	30	12	100	4
Status-prestige	289	31	32	30	7	100	1
Monetary reward	289	28	52	19	1	100	1
Steady employment	285	52	38	8	2	100	5
Part B.				FEMALES			
Help other people	304	56	36	5	3	100	2
One's own boss	302	19	28	35	18	100	4
Excitement	302	16	37	34	13	100	4
Status-prestige	304	25	33	30	12	100	2
Monetary reward	301	26	48	22	4	100	5
Steady employment	304	49	40	9	2	100	2

Because of the above finding, a technique of analysis was needed which would distinguish between the degrees of importance attached to a particular job value and which would also provide a means of ranking the job values in terms of importance to the respondents. The use of a weighted mean score was chosen and deemed acceptable for the limited investigation to be performed. From the original responses, a mean score of importance was computed and the job values ranked in order of importance, Table 13. As shown, similar rankings of job values occurred for both males and females, except at the two extremes. For males, "steady employment" was the most important job value, whereas "chance to help other people" was the most important for females. At the other extreme, males tended to rate "chance for excitement" of least importance, and females rated "chance to be one's own boss" similarly.

Aside from the mere ranking of the job values, it is significant that the values steady employment, help other people, and monetary reward were not only considered more important than the other values, but that these values were all placed at the end of the scale indicating greatest importance. Also of note is the observation that male respondents accorded more importance to each job value than did female respondents, with the one important exception for the job value "chance to help other people."

Table 13. Selected Job Features of the Occupational Goals of Mexican American Males and Females, Ranked by Mean Scores of Importance for Total Respondents.

Job Feature	Mean Score*			
	Males	Females	Total	Type**
Steady employment	3.40	3.37	3.39	E
Help other people	3.18	3.46	3.32	I
Monetary reward	3.06	2.96	3.01	E
Status-prestige	2.87	2.72	2.80	E
One's own boss	2.83	2.47	2.65	I
Excitement	2.68	2.56	2.62	I

*The range in scores is 1-4, 4 indicating greatest importance.

**KEY

I = Intrinsic
E = Extrinsic

Furthermore, as evidenced in Table 13, except for the job value "help other people," the respondents considered the extrinsic values as being more importnat than the intrinsic; that is, the students appears to consider their aspirations in terms of the benefits derived from outside the work activity rather than those features pertaining to the work activity itself.

Past research has indicated that occupational goals vary according to the importance attached to certain job values.[8] The preceding suggests that the Mexican American youth studied would accord varying degrees of importance to certain job values depending upon their occupational aspirations. To investigate this aspect of occupational orientation, mean scores of the importance placed on each of the preceding job values were computed for each occupational category to which Mexican American youth aspired and also separately for each sex, Table 14; this data can be analyzed both vertically and horizontally.

The first method of analysis, vertical, focuses upon each specific occupational category, determining the degree of importance

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[8] See the following: Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957; David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual in Society, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962; and, Robert A. Ellis and Leona Tyler, Planned and Unplanned Aspects of Occupational Choices by Youth: Toward a Morphology of Occupation Choice, Eugene, Oregon: The University of Oregon, December 15, 1967.

Table 14. Mean Scores of Importance for Selected Job Values by Occupational Aspirations of Mexican American Males and Females.

Part A. MALES

Job Values	Occupational Aspiration								
	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Managerial	Clerical and Sales	Skilled	Operatives	Unskilled	Other Housewife
	---Mean Scores---								
Monetary reward	3.23	2.95	3.24	3.00	2.88	3.16	3.00	3.29	*
Help other people	3.50	3.23	3.24	3.10	3.04	3.04	3.27	3.21	
Importance	2.83	2.91	2.88	2.90	2.92	2.79	2.73	2.86	
Steady employment	3.50	3.56	3.24	3.20	3.25	3.24	3.45	3.50	
One's own boss	2.89	2.70	2.56	2.75	2.88	2.98	2.73	3.36	
Excitement	2.78	2.52	3.29	2.55	2.67	2.73	3.00	2.64	

Part B. FEMALES

Monetary reward	2.50	2.93	3.06	*	3.14	2.60	*	*	*
Help other people	3.89	3.59	3.29		3.38	2.95			
Importance	1.75	2.71	2.47		2.86	2.50			
Steady employment	3.62	3.46	3.35		3.34	2.80			
One's own boss	2.50	2.40	2.47		2.57	2.35			
Excitement	2.25	2.51	3.29		2.58	2.25			

*Too few respondents to calculate a mean score for these occupational categories.

attributed to each job value by the respondents desiring this specific type of occupation. In this way, the selected job values can be rank ordered by degree of importance for each occupational category, as is done in Table 15; and differences or similarities in the resulting profiles as they vary from occupation to occupation can be more easily determined. As can be seen from Table 15, ordering the selected job values by degree of importance does not distinguish between students who desired different occupations, as evidenced by the overwhelming similarity of the job value profiles for each occupational category. With only minor exceptions, these job value profiles reflect the profile for the entire group as described earlier. However, the following exceptions were observed and are rather interesting. Those males who desired a "glamour" type job placed the greatest importance on the job value "excitement," which generally received the least emphasis from those who desired other types of jobs. Male respondents desiring "unskilled" jobs chose the job value "chance to be one's own boss" as second most important, which is contrary to how most males responded. This latter finding is interesting in that the jobs subsumed in the category "unskilled" are those typically thought of as giving the least possibility for autonomy in the work role.

Females, like the males, showed only slight differentiation in their job value profiles, the individual profiles reflecting

Table 15. Rank Orderings of Selected Job Values by Mean Scores of Importance and by Occupational Aspirations for Mexican American Males and Females.

Part A.	MALES								
	Occupational Aspiration								
	High Prof.	Low Prof.	Glamour	Managerial	Clerical and Sales	Skilled	Operatives	Unskilled	Other, Housewife
	Job Values*								
	SEC	SEC	EXC	SEC	SEC	SEC	SEC	SEC	**
	PEOP	PEOP	SEC	PEOP	PEOP	MON	PEOP	BOSS	
	MON	MON	PEOP	MON	IMP	PEOP	MON	MON	
	BOSS	IMP	MON	IMP	MON	BOSS	EXC	PEOP	
	IMP	BOSS	IMP	BOSS	BOSS	IMP	IMP	IMP	
	EXC	EXC	BOSS	EXC	EXC	EXC	BOSS	EXC	
Part B.	FEMALES								
	PEOP	PEOP	SEC	**	PEOP	PEOP	**	**	**
	SEC	SEC	PEOP		SEC	SEC			
	MON	MON	EXC		MON	MON			
	BOSS	IMP	MON		IMP	IMP			
	EXC	EXC	IMP		EXC	BOSS			
	IMP	BOSS	BOSS		BOSS	EXC			

*Key

MON = Monetary reward
PEOP = Help other people
IMP = Importance
SEC = Steady Employment
BOSS = One's own boss
EXC = Excitement

**Too few respondents to calculate for these occupational categories.

Table 16. Rank Ordering of Occupational Aspirations by Mean Scores of Importance for Selected Job Values, for Mexican American Males and Females.

Part A. MALES

Selected Job Values*					
MON	PEOP	IMP	SEC	BOSS	EXC
Occupational Aspirations**					
UNS	HP	CS	LP	UNS	GL
GL	OP	LP	HP	SK	OP
HP	GL	MGR	UNS	HP	HP
SK	LP	GL	OP	CS	SK
MGR	UNS	UNS	CS	MGR	CS
OP	MGR	HP	GL	OP	UNS
LP	CS	SK	SK	LP	MGR
CS	SK	OP	MGR	GL	LP

Part B. FEMALES

CS	HP	CS	HP	CS	GL
GL	LP	LP	LP	HP	CS
LP	CS	SK	GL	GL	LP
SK	GL	GL	CS	LP	HP
HP	SK	HP	SK	SK	SK

*See key given with Table 15.

**Key

HP = High Professional
LP = Low Professional
GL = Glamour
MGR = Managerial
CS = Clerical and Sales
SK = Skilled
OP = Operative
UNS = Unskilled

that for the whole group. Of note, however, is the observation that females who desired "glamour" type jobs deemed "steady employment" as the most important job value, whereas females who desired other types of jobs chose "chance to help other people" as most important. Furthermore, males and females who both desired "glamour" type jobs differed as to which job value received the greatest emphasis--males chose "excitement" whereas females chose "steady employment."

The second method used in analyzing the correlation of importance attached to job values and occupational aspirations is horizontal; that is, the mean scores of importance by occupational aspiration, which are shown in Table 14, are viewed horizontally, across the table. This analysis focuses upon each particular job value, enabling the occupational categories to be ranked according to which category of respondents placed the greatest importance on each value, Table 16. Thus, this manipulation should show whether or not the job values selected for study discriminate between persons who desired different types of occupations. However, as shown in Table 16, the selected job values failed to discriminate between these persons; there is no consistent patterning as to which category of aspirants placed greatest emphasis on the job values.

Summary

The relationship of a few, selected job values and occupational aspirations was investigated through the use of mean scores of the importance attached to these job values. In general, the respondents tended to consider all of the selected job values as more or less important; and, males attached greater importance to the values than did the females. Based upon the mean scores, the job values were placed in a hierarchy of importance for each sex with relatively similar profiles resulting for males and females. The values "steady employment," "chance to help other people," and "monetary reward," in that order, were considered as the most important job values for the group as a whole and were rated considerably more important than the other three values. However, males gave the greatest emphasis to "steady employment" whereas females treated "chance to help other people" in this manner. In addition, both sexes accorded more importance to the extrinsic job values, with the exception of the intrinsic value "help other people," than to the intrinsic values.

Mean scores of the importance placed on the job values were computed for each category of occupational aspirations and the job values thus ranked in order of importance for each occupational category. This procedure showed that, regardless of the occupational category desired, the students responded similarly to the job values; that is, the job value profiles were similar regardless of the type of occupation desired. Finally, the occupational categories were ranked for each job value according to the mean score of importance each category of respondents placed on these values. However, this manipulation failed to yield any conclusive results. In conclusion, the job values selected for study did not discriminate between respondents having different types of occupational aspirations.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In a manner similar to that employed throughout previous chapters of this thesis, the conclusions are presented in three parts, one for each section of analysis. The conclusions that can be drawn here are limited by the nature of the population studied and by the nature of the study itself, particularly in light of the scarcity of other empirical evidence on Mexican American youth. The population studied was composed of Mexican American high school sophomores males and females from four low-income counties of Texas. The type of study performed was of a facilitative nature with the purpose of providing information where little existed, rather than to test or formulate theory or to innovate. However, the conclusions made may be of more significance than they would initially appear to be, as the nation's Mexican American population is largely concentrated in five Southwestern states and approximately two-fifths of these people reside in Texas. Furthermore, the implications based upon this study's findings can be compared with those from studies of other ethnic groups.

Summary and Conclusions

Occupational status projections

From the findings presented in Chapter IV, it can be concluded that large proportions of the Mexican American youth studied desired high-level occupations, particularly within the "low professional" category; relatively few youth desired intermediate or low-level occupations. It can further be concluded that there was little difference between the level of occupational aspirations of Mexican American males and females; differences between males and females existed primarily at the intermediate level of occupational aspirations, where males showed a preference for "skilled" jobs while females preferred "clerical and sales" jobs. Differences between males and females on intensity of desire were inconsequential, and both sexes expressed a strong desire for their occupational goals.

It can also be concluded that the Mexican American youth had high expectations which followed a pattern similar to their aspirations; however, while generally high, the youth's expectations were still, on an aggregate basis, lower than their aspirations. The same sex differences noted for aspirations also prevailed for expectations. Lastly, no differences existed between sexes for certainty of expectation; the majority of each group were not very certain of their expectations.

In reference to anticipatory deflection it can be concluded that the majority of the youth were not deflected from their goals, regardless of the particular goal category concerned except for the glamour category. Females tended to experience a greater degree of negative deflection than males, and the majority of those girls experiencing goal deflection anticipated attainment of clerical and sales type jobs. No patterning of the expectations of the males who were deflected was noted.

Generational occupational mobility aspirations

The second section of analysis investigated the nature of the relationship between the respondent's occupational aspiration and the occupational level of his family-of-orientation; this latter variable was indicated by the main job held by the major money earner of the respondent's family. On an aggregate basis, it can be concluded that the vast majority of the Mexican Americans studied desired to be upwardly mobile, at least, in an occupational sense; furthermore, these youth desired an occupational level significantly above that of their families-of-orientation. In contrast, only a small proportion of respondents desired to be downwardly mobile--and then, only to a slight degree; even fewer students indicated a desire for no generational occupational mobility.

Also on an aggregate basis, the conclusion can be made that there was little difference between the occupational mobility aspirations of males and females. The only difference between the two sexes on this aspect was that a greater proportion of males than females expressed a desire for no occupational mobility; however, as indicated above, the proportion of either sex who expressed this type of desire was relatively small.

On an individual basis, looking at the occupational aspirations of youth originating at each particular level, two somewhat contradictory conclusions can be made. The most pervasive conclusion is that youth desired high level occupations regardless of their own familial occupational origins. However, it can also be concluded that in some instances, and especially for males, the occupational aspirations of the youth tended to follow class lines; for example, those who desired jobs in the highest occupational category were youth primarily from the highest social origins.

Another conclusion made here is that males from families with a skilled head-of-household and females with a clerical or sales head-of-household were the least desirous of generational occupational mobility. Finally, the males' occupational aspirations, as related to their class origins, were not particularly clustered, except for the small number of males from the highest occupational origins whose aspirations were concentrated into the professional and managerial categories. Females' aspirations, however, were clustered primarily into the low professional and the clerical and sales categories, regardless of the occupational level of their family-of-orientation.

Job values

The final section of analysis investigated the relationship of some of the job values, which are hypothetically relevant in the occupational choice process, with the respondents' occupational aspirations. Supposedly, occupational aspirations will vary according to which job values are considered the most important. Based upon the use of mean scores of importance, it can be concluded that the Mexican American youth considered all of the selected job values as more or less important; and, except for the job value "chance to help other people," males attributed more importance to each job value than did females.

On an aggregate basis, the conclusion can be made that the job values steady employment, chance to help other people, and monetary reward, in that order, were the most important job values for the Mexican Americans studied; these three values were accorded significantly more importance than the remainder. Sex differences were present, however, with "steady employment" being rated first by males and "chance to help other people" rated first by females.

Job values were also investigated on an individual basis to determine the importance of these values for persons desiring a specific occupational category. Again, mean scores of importance were utilized for this investigation; and, based upon these scores, the job values were ranked in order of importance for each occupational category. At this level of analysis, the conclusion is made that only few and minor differences existed between the job value profiles of persons desiring different types of occupation, nor did differences exist between males and females who desired similar occupations. Furthermore, it can be concluded that there was no consistent pattern as to how the various types of occupational aspirants rated the importance of the selected job values. In short, the job values selected for study and the method of investigation utilized failed to differentiate between persons with dissimilar occupational aspirations.

Implications

Theory

This study provides a direct empirical investigation of the contention made by Merton that the inculcation of high valuation on success goals is universally shared by members of this society irrespective of their positions in social structures.[1] The results of this study, indicating that the current culturally defined occupational success goals are recognized as legitimate ends by members of a seriously disadvantaged and deprived ethnic group, the Mexican Americans, firmly supports Merton's viewpoint. As shown elsewhere in this thesis, the Mexican American youth studied can, in general, be safely assumed to be from lower class origins. Furthermore, the fact that these youth not only held high occupational goals, but also had a high intensity of desire for these goals, indicates that these youth are significantly committed towards "achieving" their goals. The findings relative to intensity of desire represent perhaps the first time research has been performed, as called for by Merton, on this intensity dimension of value orientations as it applies to occupational goals;[2] and, these findings on the intensity dimension lend additional strength to Merton's hypotheses.

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[1] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. and enl. ed., New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957, pp. 131-39, 161-70.

At the same time that this study supports Merton's proposition concerning the universalism of success goals, its conclusions question the validity of certain aspects of Hyman's work. According to Hyman, occupational goals tend to follow social class lines.[3]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Class, Status and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, second edition, New York: The Free Press, 1966, pp. 488-99.

This is certainly not the case with the Mexican American youth studied here, as their goals were predominantly high even though the youth were largely from low socio-economic origins. Despite this general refutation of Hyman, however, it must be noted that a sub-minority of Mexican American youth, perhaps more than would be found in typical middle class Anglo groups, had low levels of aspirations.

The conclusions concerning intergenerational occupational mobility aspirations, namely, that Mexican American youth desired high level occupations regardless of the occupational positions of their respective families, have a number of implications. First, in that the occupational statuses of the respondents' families were controlled, the conclusions concerning high level goals tend to further refute Hyman's proposition. However, while generally refuting Hyman, the conclusion that youth from the highest occupational origins in turn desired only the highest occupations indirectly offers mild support for his viewpoint.

The finding that females did not significantly differ from males in terms of their broad levels of occupational aspirations could lead to a number of implications. One possible set of implications is that females now perceive that it is legitimate for themselves to compete in the occupational field; they are not longer confined to housewifery simply because of their sex. That females had relatively high occupational goals does not necessarily imply that they desired to become "career women" at the sacrifice of their future families; it could mean, however, that the females studied, having accepted the success goals for themselves and their future families, viewed their own employment as a means for acquiring the rewards of success for their future families.[4] Such an inference would also help to explain why females desired "high professional" jobs to a much lesser extent than males.

The conclusions presented earlier showed that these Mexican American youth, who were predominantly lower class, had relatively high occupational expectations, although slightly lower than their aspirations on an aggregate basis. Such a finding questions Stephenson's proposition that expectations may be class bound.[5] Furthermore, when these youth's high expectations are viewed in light of the socio-economic data which describes their environment, their expectations must be judged as being "unrealistic."[6] That is, their expectations do not conform and follow the occupational, educational, and economic structures which currently exist for members of this ethnic minority in either the area selected for study or on a national basis.[7]

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[4] For a discussion of this explanation of females' occupational aspirations, see Angelita S. Obordo, "Status Orientations Toward Family Development: A Racial Comparison of Adolescent Girls From Low-Income Rural Areas." Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

[5] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 204-12.

[6] Ibid.; see also, William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 273-75.

The conclusions concerning the occupational status projections of Mexican American youth are similar to findings for other ethnic and minority groups. For example, Ameen reported similarly high occupational status projections for lower class Negro and Anglo youth.[8] That Mexican American youth had high occupational status projections is parallel to findings, both for this group and others, which concern status areas other than occupation. For instance, Juarez, using the same respondents studied for this thesis, determined that Mexican American youth held relatively high educational status projections.[9] Ohlendorf found high level educational status projections among lower class Negro and Anglo youth;[10] and Pelham reported high income status projections for the same types of youth.[11] Obordo found that such youth had family status projections which reflected what is usually considered as ideal in this society and which would be conducive to the pursuit of success goals.[12] The preceding synopsis of a number of studies dealing with the value orientations of what must be considered some of the nation's most deprived, isolated, youth presents a picture of a generation who largely accepts, desires, and expects to partake of what goes by the euphemism, "the American Dream." Again, these implications lend even greater weight to Merton's argument on universal value patterns.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perception of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas." Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

[9] Rumaldo Z. Juarez, "Educational Status Orientations of Mexican American and Anglo Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas." Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, August, 1968.

If Merton's proposition of universal goals is accepted, as would seem logical based upon the evidence outlined above, then several related problems must be dealt with. One such problem concerns the theory that differential socialization results in the acquisition of different value orientations.[13] Researchers have variously shown or assumed that, among other minorities, the Mexican Americans have been subjected to a socialization process significantly different from that experienced by the majority of persons in this society. Hence, according to this reasoning, Mexican Americans should also have patterns of value orientations significantly different from the mainstream of society. However, based upon this study, such differences do not appear to exist. Assuming the validity of our data, this finding has the following possible explanations: the socialization process is not the major causal factor behind value orientations; the socialization processes experienced by Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans are not as divergent as appears or as assumed; or, the socialization process as experienced by Mexican Americans has undergone a recent, dramatic, and relatively undetected change, bringing the process closer to that experienced by Anglo Americans. If this last explanation is accepted, then, in light of the conclusions reviewed earlier, this means that there has been a sudden change in value orientations from the preceding generation to the present; such an inference suggests the possibility of traumatic parent-child conflict. However, the most likely explanation is probably a combination of all three alternatives, operating as follows.

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[10] George W. Ohlendorf, "Educational Orientations of Rural Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas." Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, May, 1967.

[11] John T. Pelham, "An Analysis of Status Consistency of the Projected Frames of Reference: A Racial Comparison of Males in Selected Low-Income Areas of the Rural South." Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, January, 1968.

[12] Obordo, *op. cit.*

[13] Among others, see Alvin L. Bertrand, *Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Division of Meredith Publishing Company, 1967, pp. 74-87.

The socialization process, although continuing throughout a person's life, is acknowledged to have its most profound effects during the earliest stages of a person's life; it is in these stages that an individual acquires his basic value orientations.[14] This early socialization occurs primarily within the individual's family and in his early school environment. Families in this society have recently undergone and continue to undergo a rather profound change in their role as a socializing agent, in that the families' import is not as great as before.[15] Added to the decreasing importance of the family, the increasing influence and availability of mass media begins to support an argument for a more similar socialization process, regardless of the ethnic origins of an individual. A final comment on this matter concerns the significance of an individual's education as a socializing agent; a child, irrespective of his origins, is constantly reminded of the importance of a "good education." Those children who do go to school are educated in an environment reflecting the biases of the white, achievement-oriented middle class American.[16] It is an empirical question as to how such a school environment effects the value orientations of youth; but, a working hypothesis might be that such an environment would tend to raise the youth's projections.

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[14] Ibid., pp. 74-87; 310-13.

[15] Ibid. See also, Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, 3rd ed., New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1963, pp. 373-78.

[16] Bertrand, op. cit., pp. 339-51; Broom and Selznick, op. cit., pp. 451-53.

For the moment, status projections will be left and attention focused on job values. The conclusions concerning job values indicate that the Mexican American youth are largely undifferentiated as to what they considered important in the occupations they desire; this is contrary to what has previously been observed as regards the relation between job values and occupational aspirations, most notably in the work done by Rosenberg on the relationship of occupational aspirations and job values of a nation-wide sample of college students.[17] One inference that can be made is that the youth studied here, being younger than youth utilized in other studies, may not have reached the stage where job values and occupational aspirations are consciously related. That is, perhaps high school sophomores are too young at this age and lack the experience to know what job values and conditions are associated with specific jobs. A possible exception was noted for males who desired jobs in the glamour category; and, who in turn gave the greatest importance to the job value "excitement." However, this finding is what was expected, given the nature of the jobs in the glamour category.

As previously stated, the youth ranked the values "steady employment," "chance to help other people," and "monetary reward" in that order as a group, and more or less in that order by occupational aspiration, as being their most important job values. In that the youth did not place monetary reward first, a somewhat interesting finding in view of the fact that they were from economically deficient families, they were similar to youth studied elsewhere, thereby further negating the idea that the young people of this society are strictly "cash register" oriented.[18] However, the effect of being from families which have historically been faced with periods of unemployment and underemployment, coupled with the burden of inadequate incomes, could have possibly accounted for the heavy emphasis the youth attached to steady employment.

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[17] Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957.

The fact that these youth are from relatively disadvantaged backgrounds has some ominous overtones. Given the economic handicaps facing these people, the probably inadequate preparation they are receiving, and the discrimination being directed at them,[19] it can be, perhaps pessimistically, predicted that a substantial number of these Mexican American youth will not achieve even their anticipated statuses. Such a prediction is reflected in the finding that the majority of the youth were uncertain of their expectations. Discrepancies between aspirations and expectations are acknowledged to contribute toward frustration and anomie.[20] Added to this frustration the even more commonly accepted belief that rising expectations often are related to violence or rebellion, and the inference can logically be drawn that discontentment, frustration, and hostility are increasing among Mexican Americans.[21] The Mexican American has commonly been pictured as passively accepting the conditions of his life, a rather "un-American" attitude. However, what evidence there is indicates that these people have accepted the ethos of this society; that is, they have been acculturated but not assimilated.[22] Whether or not the Mexican Americans maintain a passive attitude or adopt an active, militant policy, as have the Negroes, remains to be seen.

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[18] Leo Gurko, Heroes, Highbrows and the Popular Mind, New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953, pp. 69-70.

[19] See Joan W. Moore and Frank G. Mittlebach, Residential Segregation of Minorities in the Urban Southwest ("Mexican American Study Project," Advance Report 4) Los Angeles: University of California, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, January, 1965; and, Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, New York: Random House, 1966, pp. 96-103.

Finally, the conclusions concerning the occupational status orientations of these Mexican American youth raises serious questions about the commonplace stereotype of Mexican American culture. This study, and similar studies on other status orientations, repudiates these stereotypical portrayals of Mexican Americans as being a traditional, folk type people who place little emphasis on achievement and success. Alternatively, the findings could indicate a rather dramatic and rapid transformation of Mexican American culture, signalling that these people have reached what Heller has termed the "take-off point" in a rapid and long awaited assimilation into the broader American society.[23]

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[20] See Lee Taylor, Occupational Sociology, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 197-98.

[21] Broom and Selznick, op. cit., pp. 677-78.

[22] Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," Daedalus, 90 (Spring, 1961), pp. 263-85.

Research

This thesis represents perhaps the first, systematic study of the occupational orientations of Mexican American youth, and has produced results which are contrary both to the common stereotypes of such youth and to certain findings regarding other minority youth. Research on the occupational orientations of youth needs to be extended to Mexican American adolescents in other parts of the Southwest to determine whether or not results similar to this thesis' findings will be obtained; until this is done, the findings of this study serve as tentative generalizations of the orientations of such youth. The extent to which the findings can be generalized to other Mexican American youth is, of course, dependent upon how representative the youth studied were of most Mexican American youth. As far as the important variables of being from a low-income family and having parents with low levels of educational and occupational achievement are concerned, the youth studied must be judged representative of Mexican American youth in general.

While there exists the need to extend analysis to include other categories of Mexican American youth, for example, urban youth, there is also a crucial necessity for comparative analyses of the various status orientations of Mexican Americans relative to other ethnic groups. In all probability, the results of such research would show that only minor differences exist among various ethnic groups; however, this cannot be known with certainty until such studies are implemented.[24]

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[23] Heller, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

Another area of investigation, which has been suggested by Merton, concerns what is termed an individual's "frame of aspirational reference."[25] According to this idea, an individual has a number of goals which are more or less integrated, the degree of integration being a question of empirical fact.[26] In other words, the various status goals are interrelated in some manner; logically, an individual's rank positions in several goal-areas are at a similar level, or consistent. Hence, a suggestion for research, which would appear meaningful, is to study the consistency of the Mexican American youth's various status projections.[27]

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[24] For an example of a comparative study between Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans, see Juarez, _op_. _cit_. There have been several comparative studies between Negroes and "whites," but few between Mexican Americans, Negro Americans, and Anglo Americans.

[25] Merton, _op_. _cit_., pp. 132-33.

[26] _Ibid_.

[27] Such a study as suggested here has been carried out by Pelham, _op_. _cit_. Pelham also presents and critiques a method for an analysis of this type.

There is a specific type of youth which must be included in future research of value orientation. Any research which fails to include such youth is and will be seriously handicapped, as is this thesis, in obtaining a thorough, complete understanding of value orientations. This youth, neglected in the majority of research, is the high school drop out. Consideration of the high school drop out is especially relevant as concerns the Mexican Americans in that members of this minority have the highest drop out rate of all minority groups; and, in the study counties, the drop out rates were extremely high. Not much is known about the status projections of high school drop outs. Are their aspirations as equally high as their high school counterparts? Could it be that their expectations are perhaps more "realistic?" Have they had work experience and, if so, how has it effected their status projections, particularly occupational projections? Why did they leave school and what are their orientations toward education? Logically, an attempt should be made to insure that more complete information is obtained by making research considerations for the high school drop outs.

Another extension of analysis which would be useful concerns the stability of status projections over time. That is, longitudinal analysis would be useful to investigate such areas as changes in status projections, attainment of goals and expectations and effects of such attainment, the relation of experience to projections, and others. In all the additional research called for above, attention should be paid to designing research which is more of an analytical than a descriptive nature. That is, most research on status projections, this thesis included, is more concerned with describing a phenomenon as it exists than with explaining why it exists as it does.

Another research matter deserving attention concerns the age of the respondents selected for study in relation to the purpose of a specific study. If the intent of the research is to merely describe status projections as they exist at a particular age level, or to describe status projections at one time period relative to another time period in order to determine change, then no specific requirement should be made as to age of respondents. However, if the research is intended to provide predictions as to future actions of the youth, there is some question as to whether predictive material should be based on high school sophomores. For one thing, sophomores probably are not mature enough to give accurate responses on their future courses of action; some reasons for this are that, in general, sophomores have not had as much experience and are not in a position to have to make definite plans as are older students.

A number of methodological problems exist in this thesis research which need to be solved. Perhaps the most crucial of these problems concerns the occupational classification scheme utilized here in that the scheme is not as precise as desired. The scheme

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employed is one based primarily upon minimum education required to obtain a certain job and status-prestige attached to that particular job by a national sample of respondents; however, an even finer distinction between types of occupation could be obtained by including other criteria, such as income corresponding to a specific job. For example, a person self-employed as a farmer operating a small plant with an annual net income of $5,000 and another person, also a farmer, operating a large plant with an annual net income of $40,000 are both classified in the same occupational category and given equal weight; but, clearly, these two people and their work are not comparable. Possibly, there are other criteria which could also be easily included and which would aid in providing a sharper distinction between occupations.

Another important methodological problem concerns the job value analysis, specifically the lack of differentiation on importance attached to the selected job values by youth with different occupational aspirations. As indicated earlier, one possible explanation for the lack of differentiation is that the youth, through lack of a specific knowledge about the various jobs, failed to associate the job values with their occupational goals. Barring this explanation, the range of job values selected for analysis should be expanded to include other job values. Whereas this thesis examined only a very few of the entire range of job values as formulated by Ellis and Tyler, future research could be extended to provide a more adequate coverage of these job values, some of which may prove useful in distinguishing between types of occupational aspirants.[28] In addition, the indicators used in the analysis of job values could be improved by devising a better scale for indicating the degree of importance attached to each value; and, simply asking the respondent to rank the values in terms of their single most important job value, as Rosenberg did, might yield better information on the job values' importance.[29]

The next problem to be discussed deals with the conceptual schema whereby goals are distinguished from expectations. The conceptual scheme, as employed, establishes a dichotomy of the objects within any status area toward which a person has an orientation; at one extreme are those objects which are desired while at the opposite are those which are expected. Furthermore, as employed, this schema assumes that those objects which are desired are established as goals and effort is expended to achieve them; however, as indicated by other researchers, this schema does not allow for objects which are desired but which are not goals in the ordinary sense of the word.[30] Such a distinction between objects desired but which are not a goal and objects desired and which are a goal has theoretical significance in that the frustration and anomie acknowledged to accompany the non-attainment of aspirations may not exist if respondents are replying to the aspiration indicator in terms of a "fantasy-level" desire. At the other end of the dichotomy, problems exist for those cases in which the object desired is the same as the object expected in that, as the scheme is at present, there exists no way of knowing whether or not the youth in this category can distinguish between aspiration and expectation.

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[28] A complete listing of the various job values as formulated by Ellis and Tyler is in Chapter II, p. 30.

[29] Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[30] For an elaboration on this point and an alternative conceptual scheme, see the "Implications" section in the thesis by Juarez, op. cit.

The indicator used to arrive at the respondent's intensity of desire for selected status goals presents another problem area. The main problem with this indicator is that, because of the manner in which the indicator is structured, the status goals represented are mutually exclusive, when, clearly, the goals could be complementary.[31] For example, consider the means-ends scheme in which a person wants all the education he can get, in order to get the job he wants most, in order to earn as much money as he can, in order to have the material things he wants, and so on. Now, imagine that of two people having the mans-ends scheme just outlined, one selects education as most important in accordance with the indicator as it exists, and is labelled achievement-oriented; and, the other person selects material possessions as most important and is labelled material-oriented--yet, actually, there is no difference between the people. Additional obfuscation is incurred by this indicator in that the status goals as stated may not have similar meanings for all respondents because it is not clear whether the youth are responding in terms of lifetime goals or in terms of a somewhat less lengthy perspective. Furthermore, while the intensity element of a status projection is analytically distinct from the goal element, thereby allowing an independent examination of each element, it seems probable that the intensity of desire can, over time, have a causal effect on the goal element--specifically, to heighten the level of the goal. Therefore, future research efforts should specify that the responses to the instrument measuring intensity of desire are in terms of long range end results; and, in analysis, various levels of aspiration and intensity of desire should be controlled in order to investigate any causal relation between the two elements. Understanding of the youth's status projection could also be broadened if some attempt were made to have the respondents order their various goals in a "means-ends" scheme which they think is appropriate.

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[31] The complete indicator for intensity of desire appears in Appendix B, p. 154.

Finally, the last area of methodological concern for which a solution is needed is the indicator for certainty of expectation. As stated in the methodology section of this thesis, the indicator used is supposed to be a Likert-type scale. A characteristic of the Likert-type scale is that it consists of responses representing two opposite response categories and a neutral region between these two extremes.[32] However, in the indicator used for this study, the response category assigned to represent the neutral region is definitely not neutral, but rather one of the two extremes.[33] Beyond this fault, the indicator does not relate the signficance of certainty to either the respondent's expectation or to his aspiration. The significance of the certainty of expectation element is expressed in the proposition that a person who is uncertain of his expected status may feel pressure to lower his expectations still further. In addition, a person with expectations which are at a lower level than his aspirations and who is uncertain of his expectations might tend to lower the level of his aspirations, thereby alleviating cognitive dissonance. A similar type of relationship might also exist for intensity of desire in that a person might desire a particular status goal so intensely that, in order to maintain cognitive balance, the person would raise both the level of his expectations and the certainty of his expectations. In the past, research has been of a compartmental nature in that the five various elements of status projections have been investigated independently of each other. However, there is a need, and the means now exist, for a causal analysis of the interrelationships of these various elements of a projection.

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[32] A discussion of Likert scales appears in David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachey, Individual in Society, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962, pp. 150-160.

[33] The indicator for certainty of expectation appears in Appendix B, p.152. An alternative instrument for measuring certainty is that suggested by Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 18 (June, 1953), pp. 233-42.

Policy

Although the primary objective of this thesis was to provide descriptive information on the occupational orientations of Mexican American youth, the study arrived at a number of findings which have implications for policy-making and social action.[34] Furthermore, the policy implications made are stated from a particular value position which will be clear as this section proceeds.

To begin, this society is one whose actions are supposedly based upon certain highly cherished guiding principles, ideals, or values, many of which are contradictory; but, the single most widely heralded and mouthed value is that of "equal opportunity."[35] According to the statement of this value, "everyone should have equal opportunity to develop his abilities to the utmost of his capacity."[36]

In the traditional, rather conservative manner of most policy-makers, the following statements will simply exclude a consideration of the adults encountered in the study areas, and confine discussion to the youth. These statements should not be construed as implying anything negative about the parents or guardians of the youth in question; rather, these statements are merely devices to limit discussion to a subject on which a measure of agreement can be reached. By employing such a maneuver, consensus can probably be reached on the statement that the youth are not responsible for the conditions in which they exist. Most people would also agree that youth should not say for the shortcomings of their parents. Certainly then, if the societal value equal opportunity is viable and to any extent applicable in this nation, at least youth should have equal opportunity. Or is it true, even among youth, that some are "more equal" than others?[37]

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[34] In arriving at implications, the findings of this thesis were supplemented, in part, by participant observation in the counties selected for study.

[35] A concise, thorough statement of the major value patterns operating in this society is presented by Dale E. Hathaway, Government and Agriculture: Public Policy in a Democratic Society, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963, pp. 3-23. For an additional discussion of the prevalent, societal values, see Merton, op. cit., pp. 131-194.

[36] Hathaway, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

Without naming towns, counties, or schools, it should suffice to say that poverty--by any definition of the concept--is present among these youth. Hunger, malnutrition, and lack of even adequate physical care are present. Pitifully inadequate schooling exists. Prejudice and discrimination is encountered. Conditions are such that a substantial number of the youth in this area do not have "equal opportunity to develop their abilities to the utmost of their capabilities."

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[37] George Orwell, Animal Farm, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1946.

Yet, the fact remains that large proportions of Mexican American youth not only desire, but also expect to attain, relatively high levels of occupation. This suggests that these youth need to be and have a right to be prepared to pursue their goals through, ideally, the legitimate means to success.[38] Given the nature of these youth's background, this preparation involves mainly obtaining quality education and financial aid for these youth, and in many cases, also for their families. In some instances, the educational curricula could be improved by updating them, fitting them more to the needs of the students; this has been done in one school already. For instance, some of the schools offered only one general curriculum, the only objective of which appears to be to get the students through high school. The courses of study could be diversified, offering various types of curricula, such as college preparatory, vocational, and others. One type of curriculum, however, probably needs to receive less emphasis, and that is vocational agriculture. As indicated elsewhere in this thesis, the economy of the areas these youth are from is based primarily on agricultural production; the production in these areas, as elsewhere, is in a process of becoming more mechanized with an accompanying emphasis on large scale plants. Hence, there will be less need for persons with only high school vocational agricultural training.

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[38] For a list of alternative means, some of which are not as pleasing to society as the legitimate means, see Merton, op. cit., pp. 139-157.

A rather unique situation as regards high school courses was found to exist in one school system and may serve as a model for other schools. As were the majority of youth involved in this study, the youth in the particular school in question were mostly from low-income families which often lack many of the bare necessities and simple comforts of life. To help compensate for these shortcomings, this school had special courses geared to help the youth procure these commodities. For example, those students enrolled in shop courses were encouraged and helped to build a table, chair, or something similar which their families need rather than a bookcase or storage cabinet which would have been used by the school.

Certain schools need improved facilities--not necessarily anything luxurious or fanciful, just decent, tolerable facilities. For example, the counties selected for study are in one of the most temperate regions of the nation; yet some of the schools do not have even the simplest of electric fans. In cases, flies and other insects were so thick inside the school as to make concentration on anything except swatting flies impossible. Terribly out of date and dilapidated buildings, teaching materials, and textbooks were observed at times. Although not absolutely necessary, corrections of these shortcomings could help to enhance the educational process, making it more enjoyable.

Also, most disturbing, was the apparent apathy of some--not all, perhaps not even most--of the school administrators and teachers toward the plight of their school students, and the community. If anything, these youth need teachers who are sincerely interested in them and are willing to help and to guide.

Any attempt to provide an equal opportunity for these Mexican American youth will have to face the problems of poverty and arrive at a workable solution. This is no easy task, but as long as poverty does exist, its very existence is a guarantee that some will have less opportunity than others.

Finally, the Mexican American youth need to be made aware of the interrelations of the various social structures--educational, occupational, and income--which exist in society and how these structures relate to their orientations. That is, the youth should be made aware of the means for achieving their goals and of the possible barriers to their success in attaining them. Youth are faced with a wide variety of occupations from which to select an occupational aspiration; and, unless the youth know something about the many occupations, the process of occupational choice is more "hit-and-miss" than the expression of a choice.

Based upon this study's conclusions and observations and the findings of other similar studies, it can be stated that many youth, the Mexican American included, have high occupational goals, but probably know very little about the work actually performed in a specific occupation, or about what is required to obtain that occupation. In order to encourage a more knowledgeable selection of an occupation, youth need a broader exposure to the various work roles. Perhaps one of the most simple and inexpensive manners of providing this exposure would be to utilize various local businessmen and officials to give "occupational seminars" to the high school students. Such seminars should be structured around the following: (1) the actual work performed by the businessman; (2) what education and preparation was necessary to acquire the job; (3) the income and other benefits that might be expected; (4) the relation of a particular job to other jobs in the community; and (5) the prospects for the occupation in the future. Although a number of occupations can be found in any community, the variety is not as extensive in small towns and rural areas as in large metropolitan centers. Therefore, school - community sponsored trips to various types of manufacturing and service organizations located in large cities could be undertaken to provide youth with as wide an exposure to different jobs as possible.

In addition to the above recommendations, the youth need much more counseling than they are receiving; this requires more and better qualified counselors, perhaps professional occupational counselors. Beyond a mere increase in the quantity of counseling, youth should be counseled on an individual and more comprehensive basis. That is, the counselors need to know the family background, the abilities, the interests, and the life plans of the youth on an individual basis before they can provide adequate counseling and help the youth in making a realistic choice.[39]

In conclusion, any general failure in the level of social status attainment of the evolving generation of Mexican Americans will not be able to be explained in terms of low goals and weak motivation for social advancement.

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[39] These recommendations are structured around a statement by A. O. Haller, Lee G. Burchinal, and Marvin J. Taves, Rural Youth Need Help in Choosing Occupations, East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Circular Bulletin 235, 1963.

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APPENDIX A

DETAILED INFORMATION ON STUDY COUNTIES, HIGH SCHOOLS, AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

An understanding of the environmental conditions of the respondents is useful in interpreting the significance of the descriptive material to be presented on the youth's occupational orientations, particularly in making comparisons with other similar studies and in drawing theoretical and policy implications. To facilitate such an understanding, this appendix presents data accompanied by a minimum of interpretive text on some crucial aspects of the youth's environment. This information is presented in three parts, as follows: the study counties; the high schools; and, background data obtained from the respondents about themselves.

The Study Counties

Two Southwest Texas counties--Dimmit and Maverick--and two South Texas counties--Starr and Zapata--were purposively selected on the basis of three criteria: (1) a proportionately high rate of Mexican Americans; (2) a proportionately high rate of poverty as indicated by low-income families; and (3) predominantly rural populations centered in nonmetropolitan areas. A brief, general description of each county is given below.

Dimmit County is located in Southwest Texas just south of the Edwards Plateau and is in the heart of the Winter Garden District, a leading winter vegetable growing area. Much of the land is covered with native brush and mesquite, and land not irrigated for farming purposes is devoted to ranching. In addition to agriculture, there is some oil production in the county. More than a third of the county's labor force is engaged in some type of agricultural production. Less than one-tenth of the county's labor force is skilled as compared to nearly three-tenths that is unskilled. Slightly more than half of the county's residents live in Carrizo Springs, the county seat, and the remaining population resides in Asherton--population of 1,890--or in the open country.

Maverick County has much the same type of topography, climate, and ground cover as does Dimmit County, to which Maverick is adjacent. As to be expected, similar types of farming and ranching are also found in Maverick County, and, to a lesser extent, so is oil production. Another source of income for Maverick County is tourism, as the county is bordered on the west by the Rio Grande, thus providing the county with an excellent gateway to Mexico. Eagle Pass, the county seat, lies just across the river from its much larger sister-city, Piedras Negras. The traffic between Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras is not one-way, as many of the residents of Piedras Negras are customers of the retail stores in Eagle Pass. About equal proportions of Maverick County's labor force are engaged in agriculture and retail trade, approximately one-fifth in each category. Again, less than one-tenth of the labor force is classified as skilled as compared to one-third classified as unskilled. The majority of the county's population resides in Eagle Pass and the remaining population, about one-fifth, lives in the open country.

Starr County is situated in South Texas, just above the lower Rio Grande Valley, and is bordered to the west by the Rio Grande. Similarly to most counties in this area of the state, the major source of income is from agricultural enterprises, farming and ranching, with occasionally some oil production. Some of the major commodities produced in Starr County are cantaloupes and melons, and to much lesser extent, some citrus fruits. Oil production in the county is in the north eastern section of the county around the small town of San Isidro. Rio Grande City, the county seat, has a rail terminal from which the melons are shipped. Starr County has two minor accesses to Mexico, one at Roma-Los Saenz and the other at Rio Grande City, and tourism is at a minimal level. Approximately forty percent of the county's labor are in agricultural production; and, again, skilled workers account for less than one-tenth of the labor force while unskilled workers comprise one-fifth of the labor supply. Most residents of this county live in the open country or in places having less than 1,500 inhabitants; however, about one-third of the county's residents live in Rio Grande City.

Zapata County, which is north of and adjacent to Starr County, is quite similar to Starr County in physical characteristics. Agriculture accounts for the major portion of the county's labor force, as nearly one-half of those employed are in farming or ranching. An important source of income for the county is from recreation as the Falcon Dam, Reservoir and State Park are located either in or near Zapata County. As with the three other counties in the study, less than one-tenth of Zapata County's labor force is skilled whereas nearly one-third is unskilled. Zapata County is the only all rural county in the study with more than half the population residing in the open country, and the remainder living in the county seat, Zapata, which has fewer than 2,500 residents.

A collection of key social and economic indicators for each county as compared with Texas and the United States is provided in Table 17; additional information on the labor force and residence of the population is presented in Table 18. The following summary statement concerning the study counties is based upon these two tables and upon the preceding county descriptions. In all four counties, agricultural production is a major source of income; other sources of income are, to a lesser extent, oil production and tourism. Agricultural employment accounts for the major portion of the labor force in the counties, and the skilled labor force is much smaller than the unskilled labor force. With the exception of Maverick County, the study counties have relatively large proportions

Table 17. Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the South Texas Study Counties Compared with Texas and the United States.

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Negroes (Percent)	Mexican Americans (Percent)	Low-Income Families[A] (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median School Yrs. Comp.[B]	Unskilled Lab.For.[C] (Percent)	Agr.Lab. For.[D] (Percent)
Dimmit	10	1	67	60	$2,480	5	62	38
Maverick	15	0	78	58	2,523	6	48	19
Starr	17	0	89	71	1,700	5	50	41
Zapata	4	0	75	66	1,766	5	55	39
Texas	9,580	13	15	29	4,884	10	37	8
United States	179,323	11	2	21	5,657	11	38	6

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964, Tables 42, 76, 87, and 95; and Part 45, Texas, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963, Tables 14, 28, 47, 57, 66, 84, 86, and 87.

[A] Annual family income below $3,000.

[B] Persons 25 years old and over.

[C] Males and females classified as operatives & kindred, private household workers, service workers, farm laborers & farm foremen, and other laborers.

[D] Males and females classified as farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen.

Table 18. Selected Labor Force and Place of Residence Characteristics of Counties in the Study.

Characteristic	County							
	Dimmit		Maverick		Starr		Zapata	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Labor Force	3073	100	3034	100	4458	100	1138	100
Engaged in Farming								
Farmers & Farm Managers	125	4	154	4	528	12	126	11
Farm Laborers & Farm Foremen	1051	34	552	15	1299	29	318	28
Skilled Labor	210	7	282	8	305	7	75	7
Unskilled Labor								
Operatives & Kindred Workers	559	18	568	16	377	8	97	9
Private Household Workers	58	2	129	4	104	2	4	0
Service Workers, except Private Household	129	4	261	7	247	6	118	10
Laborers, exc. Farm & Mine	103	3	215	6	218	5	89	8
Total Population	10,095	100	14,508	100	17,137	100	4,393	100
Places of 2,500 and over	5,699	56	12,094	83	5,835	34	0	0
Places of 1,000 to 2,500	1,890	19	0	0	2,932	17	2,031	46
Other Rural Territory	2,506	25	2,414	17	8,370	49	2,362	54

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963, Tables 6 and 84.

of the population in rural areas; and, Zapata County is all rural. Furthermore, all four counties have exceptionally large proportions of Mexican Americans and low income families living in them.

In order to better understand the low income problems that exist in the four study counties, a family income distribution by ethnic groups is provided for these counties, Table 19. Analysis of the data in this table reveals that Mexican Americans were much more likely to experience low family incomes than were Anglo Americans; this finding, coupled with the fact that Mexican Americans have larger families than Anglo Americans indicates that having a low income is much more serious for the Mexican Americans than for other ethnic groups.[1] In addition, the data in this table shows that very few Mexican American families were in the upper income brackets as compared with the Anglo Americans.

The High Schools

The high schools attended by the youth would appear to be an important variable which should, ideally, be controlled. Limited data on the high schools attended by the youth in this study were obtained by informal interviews with the principal of each school and through subjective appraisals of the school facilities by the interviewers gathering the data; the major conclusion drawn from these methods was that the nature of the high schools involved varied considerably in a number of dimensions. For an elaboration

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[1] For a discussion of family size as related to family poverty, see W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright, Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-2) College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1966, pp. 23-24.

Table 19. Annual Family Income of Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans, Sample Area, 1959.

Income Group	Families			
	Anglo American		Mexican American	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under $1,000	165	7	1,934	28
$1,000-1,999	261	11	2,150	31
2,000-2,999	278	12	1,119	16
3,000-3,999	257	11	756	11
4,000-4,999	243	11	332	5
5,000-8,999	782	34	488	7
9,000 and over	311	14	155	2
Total Families	2,297	100	6,934	100

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963, Tables 86 and 88; and, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. Subjects Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname. Final Report PC (2)-1B, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963, Table 14.

on some of these dimensions, see the chapter on "Methods and Procedures," pages 38-44. Data on the size of class in each school is presented in Table 20; and, as shown, the range in size is large. Perhaps the most common characteristic of all seven schools concerns the ethnic identity of the sophomore class members. In all cases, the majority of the students were Mexican Americans; and, nonwhite students were almost totally absent, Table 21.

As stated previously, the types of curricula available in a particular school ranged from one "general curriculum" in one school to include a variety from which to choose in another; in addition, the quality of instruction also appeared to vary. Facilities varied from shabby and neglected to the most modern; some schools appeared crowded and others underutilized. Formal guidance counseling available to the students of these schools ranged from none in some schools to extremely intensive guidance in others. In short, considerable variation between the schools was evident.

The Background of the Students

The social background of the youth studied is another, theoretically important variable in orientations. For this reason, what background data were available on the youth is presented here. The data which appears in this part of this appendix were obtained through use of the same questionnaire employed to ellicit the youth's orientations. The various aspects of the youth's social

Table 20. The Number of Sophomores Enrolled in Each School Compared with the Number Interviewed.

High School	County	Total No. of Sophomores	No. of Sophomores Interviewed
Eagle Pass	Maverick	261	230
Carrizo Springs	Dimmit	89	85
Asherton	Dimmit	26	22
Zapata	Zapata	65	58
Roma-Los Saenz	Starr	90	75
San Isidro	Starr	36	31
Rio Grande City	Starr	198	168
Total	--	765	669

Table 21. Ethnic and Sex Distribution of Sophomore Respondents by High School.

High School	Mexican American		Anglo American	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Number			
Eagle Pass	91	113	13	13
Carrizo Springs	30	21	17*	17**
Asherton	15	7	0	0
Zapata	23	31	1	3
Roma-Los Saenz	35	38	1	1
San Isidro	17	13	0	1
Rio Grande City	79	83	2	4
Total	290	306	34	39

*Includes two nonwhites
**Includes one nonwhite

background on which data were obtained included the following: identity of the family's major money earner; occupation of the major money earner; education of the respondent's parents; marital status of the respondent's parents; and employment of the respondent's mother.

Data on the identity of the major money earner in the respondent's family appears in Table 22; and, as shown, the respondent's father was the major money earner in the vast majority of cases. For the most part, these fathers, or major money earners, were employed as laborers, operatives, or skilled tradesmen, with the category laborer accounting for the single largest proportion, Table 23. Relatively few youth were from families in which the major money earner was in clerical or sales, owner, professional, or glamour positions.

The Mexican American youth involved in this study generally came from homes devoid of a "normal" educational background, in that, of those respondents who could give information on their parents, three-fourths of the youth reported that both parents had achieved less than a high school education, Table 24. On the other hand, only one-twentieth of the youth had parents who had graduated from college.[2]

The majority, four-fifths, of the Mexican American youth were from families in which both parents were present, Table 25. In very few families was either parent absent due to separation, divorce or death. In addition, slightly more than half of the

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[2] This finding on the educational achievement of the respondents' parents reflects what exists in general for the Mexican American minority. For a discussion of educational achievement among Mexican Americans in Texas, see Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas, Austin: University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1964.

Table 22. Identity of Major Money Earner in Mexican American Male and Female Respondents' Households.

Identity	Males (N=288)		Females (N=306)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Father	222	77	229	75
Mother	22	8	25	8
Brother or Sister	19	6	25	8
Other	25	9	27	9
Total	288	100	306	100
No Response	2		0	

Table 23. Occupation of Major Money Earner in Mexican American Male and Female Respondents' Households.

Occupation	Males (N=265)		Females (N=284)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Farm Owner	17	7	16	6
Farm Laborer or Laborer	88	33	80	28
Enlisted Man and Operative	39	15	27	10
Skilled Trade	41	16	53	19
Sales and Clerical	25	9	31	11
Owner	25	9	34	12
Officer and Professional	16	6	24	8
Glamour	1	0	1	0
Unemployed, Don't Know	13	5	18	6
Total	265	100	284	100
No Response	25		22	

Table 24. Education of Parents of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents.

Educational Level	Father of Respondent (N=446)		Mother of Respondent (N=480)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Did not go to school	79	18	46	10
Less than high school	265	59	325	68
High school graduate	50	11	61	12
Vocational school after graduation from high school	12	3	18	4
Some college	14	3	13	2
College graduate	26	6	17	4
Total	446	100	480	100
Don't know	139		102	
No information	11		14	

Table 25. Marital Status of Parents of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents.

Marital Status	Males (N=289)		Females (N=305)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Together	244	84	250	82
Separated or Divorced	13	5	21	7
Father, Mother, or Both Dead	32	11	34	11
Total	289	100	305	100
No Information	1		1	

respondents indicated their mothers were not employed outside the home, nor were they seeking outside employment, Table 26. However, about a third of the respondents' mothers were employed either part-time or full-time.

In summary and conclusion, the Mexican American youth were, in general, from families which can be characterized by the following: the father was the major money earner and employed in a low level occupation; both parents had less than a high school education; both parents were present; and the mother was not employed nor looking for employment outside the family. The most striking characteristics concerned the relatively low levels of occupation of the respondents' heads-of-household and the lack of educational achievement by the respondent's parents.

Table 26. Employment Status of Mother of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents.

Employment Status	Males (N=285)		Females (N=303)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No mother or stepmother	6	2	6	2
Full-time	39	14	39	13
Part-time	45	16	42	14
Looking for work	9	3	22	7
Does not work	167	58	180	59
Don't know	19	7	14	5
Total	285	100	303	100
No information	5		3	

Table 26. Employment Status of Mother of Mexican American Male and Female Respondents.

Employment Status	Males (N=285)		Females (N=303)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No mother or stepmother	6	2	6	2
Full-time	39	14	39	13
Part-time	45	16	42	14
Looking for work	9	3	22	7
Does not work	167	58	180	59
Don't know	19	7	14	5
Total	285	100	303	100
No information	5		3	

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The following indicators are presented exactly as they appeared in the questionnaire.

2. Sex (Circle one number): 1 Male 2 Female

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9. If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER:

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10. (a) Sometimes we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!)

ANSWER:

(b) How certain are you that this is the job you will have most of your life? (Circle one number):

I am:	1	2	3	4	5
	Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

12. In picking the job you would most like to have, how important are the following things about the job? (Circle one number for each statement):

Very Important	Important	Not very Important	Not at all Important	
4	3	2	1	Offers you the chance to make a lot of money.
4	3	2	1	Gives you a chance to help other people.
4	3	2	1	Gives you a chance to become an important person.
4	3	2	1	Gives you steady employment.
4	3	2	1	Gives you a chance to be your own boss.
4	3	2	1	Offers a chance for excitement

26. What is the main job held by the major money earner of your home? (Write your answer in the following box. Give a specific job, not the company or place worked for.)

ANSWER:

27. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.

____ To get all the education I want.

____ To earn as much money as I can.

____ To get the job I want most.

____ To live in the kind of place I like best.

____ To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.

____ To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

---

28. Are you of Spanish-American ancestry? (Circle one number.)

1 Yes

2 No

VITA

NAME: David E. Wright, Jr.

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REARED IN: Brackettville, Texas

NAME OF PARENTS: Major & Mrs. David E. Wright, Sr.

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David E. Wright and William P. Kuvlesky, "Occupational Status Projections of Mexican American Youth Residing in the Rio Grande Valley." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas, April, 1968.

The typist for this thesis was Mrs. Debby Preston.